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The influence of Carolingian political initiatives and *correctio* in ninth-century Brittany and the march: a study of the hagiographical *dossiers* of saints Machutus, Maglorius and Melanius and their political and ecclesiastical contexts

Jordan, Alexandra Elizabeth

This study provides new analyses of three ninth-century hagiographical *dossiers* from north-eastern Brittany. It then analyses their implications for understanding Brittany and the march. Part I asks when and where each collection was written. Part II uses these collections to address a number of historical questions. The hagiographical *dossiers* are those of three bishops celebrated along Brittany's north-eastern border and the march: Melanius of Rennes, Machutus of Alet and Maglorius of Dol. Each provides insight into foundations with interests in the Breton-Frankish frontier.

Chapter 1 confirms earlier conclusions about when and where Melanius' *Vita* was written. Chapter 2 adds discussion and dating of two additional hagiographies: the *Vita* and *Miracula Philiberti* and the *Vitae Marculphi*. Chapter 3 reaches conclusions on the authorship of Machutus' *dossier* that hint at broader changes within his cult. Chapter 4 rewrites earlier scholars' conclusions on the authorship of Maglorius' *dossier* and the stages in which it was written. Finally, chapter 5 briefly considers the dating of some further Breton hagiographies: the *vitae Samsonis* and the *Vita Pauli Aureliani*. Chapter 6 explores how the Bretons were seen from the easternmost parts of the march. It focuses largely on the *Life* of St Melanius of Rennes, the easternmost of the marcher sees and arguably the most vulnerable to Breton raids. Chapter 7 compares the surviving Breton episcopal hagiographies to assess the progress of *correctio* in Brittany over the later ninth century. Chapter 8 explores how Maglorius' cult promoted Dol's interests by rewriting Samson's career in condensed form in the *Vita Maglorii*.

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List of abbreviations

AA SS	<i>Acta Sanctorum quotquot toto orbe coluntur</i> , ed. J. Bollandus et al. (Antwerp and Brussels, 1643- present)
AVM	Ferdinand Lot, ed. ‘La plus ancienne vie de saint Malo’, in Ferdinand Lot, <i>Mélanges d’histoire bretonne</i> , (vie-xie siècle), (Paris, 1907), pp. 294-329; AVM <i>brevior</i> , Paris, BNF lat. 12404, ff. 239-246v [the text of the two is nearly identical and they are discussed together unless otherwise stated]
BL	British Library, London
BNF	Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris
BVM	Ferdinand Lot, ed., ‘La <i>Vita Machutis</i> par Bili’, in Ferdinand Lot, <i>Mélanges d’histoire bretonne</i> , (vie-xie siècle), (Paris, 1907), pp. 340-430
GSR	Caroline Brett, ed. <i>The Monks of Redon: Gesta Sanctorum Rotonensium and Vita Conuuoionis</i> (Bury St Edmunds, 1989)
HCL	Hereford Cathedral Library
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historia
Auct. ant	Auctores antiquissimi
Epp.	Epistolae
Leg.	Leges
SRG	Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum, in usum scholarum separatim editi
SRM	Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum
PL	<i>Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Latina</i> , ed. J-P Migne, 221 vols. (Paris, 1844-64)
VPA	Dom. François Plaine, ed. ‘ <i>Vita Pauli episcopi Leonensis in Britannia Minori auctore Wormonoco</i> ,’ <i>Analecta Bollandiana</i> 1 (1882), pp. 208-58
VPM	<i>Vita Prima Melanii</i> , in Appendix 1

VPS Pierre Flobert ed. and trans. *La vie ancienne de saint Samson de Dol* (Paris, 2002)

VSS François Plaine, ed. '*Vita antiqua sancti Samsonis Dolensis episcopi*', *Analecta Bollandiana* 6 (1887), pp. 77-150

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Chapter 1: Introduction

This is a study of three hagiographical collections linked by time, place and their engagement with Carolingian attempts to reform or rather, ‘correct’ the people and churches of Brittany. These are the *dossiers* of three sixth-century bishop-saints: Machutus of Alet, Maglorius of Sark, Dol and Léhon and Melanius of Rennes. Each of their hagiographies was composed in or near the Breton march as Carolingian influence was being extended over Brittany during the ninth century. Each hagiographer was preoccupied to a greater or lesser extent with the ideological and political changes to which Carolingian military and cultural advance gave rise. This preoccupation makes these hagiographies a useful means of charting the advance of *correctio* in Brittany.

The scant nature of the medieval Breton source base and the richness of hagiography as a source means that each collection essentially provides material for a microhistory of the foundation that produced it.¹ This is particularly the case with the *Vitae Melanii*. As the products of a politically and culturally Frankish milieu, they stand apart from the Breton hagiographies studied here. Nonetheless, all three hagiographies present some thematic unity. All are preoccupied to a greater or lesser extent with *correctio*, while those of Machutus and Maglorius engage with Dol’s metropolitan ambitions. The collection therefore makes it possible to compare approaches to these themes at different foundations and, for Machutus’ and Maglorius’ hagiographies, to compare their treatment of Brittany’s most influential hagiographies, the *vitae Samsonis*. The process of analysing these works has also made it possible to demonstrate the utility of new technologies in uncovering hagiographers’ sources. This has in turn revealed a little more of how hagiographers composed their work and conveyed their messages to their audiences.

A study of early medieval Brittany must inevitably mention Dol and Samson’s cult there, even if Dol is not its main focus. First, it was at Dol that the earliest medieval sources for the region, the *vitae Samsonis*, were written. These sources naturally played a major role in Breton historiography.² Secondly, Dol exerted political influence and a marked literary influence on its Breton neighbours, particularly Léhon and Alet. Samson’s hagiography is not however one of the main collections studied here. First, it has already been the subject of much scholarly attention, albeit directed rather

¹ Microhistory as a means of studying the middle ages is explored by Marcus Bull in his introduction to the middle ages, *Thinking Medieval: An Introduction to the Study of the Middle Ages* (London, 2005), pp. 62-98. Although the article is aimed at undergraduates, his point on the use of microhistory is a valid one, indeed the countryside around Redon has been the subject of a number of ‘microhistories’ by Wendy Davies based on the Redon Cartulary, of which perhaps the best-known is *Small Worlds: The Village Community in Early Medieval Brittany* (University of California Press; Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1988).

² Thomas Charles-Edwards used it to reconstruct the political situation in sixth-century Brittany: Thomas Charles-Edwards, *Wales and the Britons, 350-1064* (Oxford, 2012), pp. 69-74. A still more recent collection of essays considers its dating and implications for Brittany’s early history: Lynette Olson, ed. *St Samson of Dol and the Earliest History of Brittany, Cornwall and Wales* (Woodbridge, 2017).

more at the first than the second of Samson's hagiographies. Second, this thesis is intended as a study of the Breton march and Neustria, and the hagiographies of Maglorius, Melanius and arguably that of Machutus, contribute a little more to this than Samson's.

The hagiographies studied here illuminate developments at different points over the last three quarters of the ninth century. At the start of this period, the Carolingian Empire had reached its furthest extent under first Charlemagne (769-814) and later Louis the Pious (814-40).³ Both had secured the intermittent submission of the Breton warriors, a submission that did not always preclude these warriors raiding into Neustria. Between centres of Breton and Carolingian power lay the Breton march, Carolingian control over which had been secured in the eighth century and which acted as a buffer zone against Breton raids.⁴

By Louis the Pious' death in 840, Breton leadership had largely become concentrated in the hands of one man, Nominoë.⁵ Following the king's death, Nominoë and later his successors Erispoë and then Salomon, extended Brittany's borders, acquiring land as far east as Rennes (in 849) and Coutances (867).⁶ They achieved this in part through alliances with the marcher aristocracy, as the Carolingian Empire fragmented and Charles the Bald struggled to retain control of his inheritance.⁷ Frankish control of the march in the ninth century might therefore be considered, at best, a temporary achievement. It was one that ultimately ended, as political careers and Empires proverbially do, in failure as both Frankish and Breton control gave way in the early tenth century to a Scandinavian 'interregnum', during which even the Breton leaders and senior clergy fled the province for Insular Britain and central Frankia.⁸

Carolingian rulers and the Breton churches

Carolingian rulers were arguably more successful at securing influence on the march through the church than they were at doing so through military means. Control of the church, and through it the Empire and its marches, involved a variety of tactics, from patronage, to ordering of the church

³ Their lives and conquests are outlined in their biographies. For modern editions, see: T. F. X. Noble ed. and trans. *Charlemagne and Louis the Pious: the lives by Einhard, Notker, Ermoldus, Thegan and the Astronomer* (Pennsylvania, 2009). For consolidation of the Empire, see also: Rosamond McKitterick, *The Frankish Kingdoms under the Carolingians 751-987* (Cambridge, 1982), pp. 41-76.

⁴ This process is outlined in: Julia M. H. Smith, *Province and Empire: Brittany and the Carolingians*, (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 67-74. See also Chédeville and Guillotel, *La Bretagne des saints et des rois Ve-Xe siècle* (Rennes, 1984), pp. 201-48 and J-P Brunterc'h, 'Géographie historique et hagiographie: la vie de saint Mervé', in *Mélanges de l'école française de Rome: moyen âge, temps modernes* 5 (1983), pp. 7-63.

⁵ Smith, *Province and Empire*, pp. 72-4 and 82-5.

⁶ Ibid. p. 77-100; Janet Nelson, ed. and trans. *The Annals of St-Bertin: Ninth-century histories*, volume 1 (Manchester 1991) entry for 851, p. 73 for the grant of Rennes and for the grant of the Avranchin and Cotentin, entry for 867, pp. 139-41.

⁷ Smith, *Province and Empire*, pp. 86-116; Janet Nelson, *Charles the Bald* (London, 1992), pp. 160-89.

⁸ Smith, *Province and Empire*, pp. 187-98; For the departure of Breton clergy, see: Hubert Guillotel, in 'L'exode du clergé breton devant les invasions scandinaves', *Mémoires de la société et d'archéologie de Bretagne* 59 (1982)

hierarchy, to the implementation of cultural and legal uniformity in the form of *correctio*. This Carolingian political and cultural influence over marcher and Breton churches is one of the reasons why hagiography promises to illuminate the spread of Carolingian influence in Brittany so well.

Straightforward patronage, the granting of land or relics in tacit exchange for prayers and oaths of loyalty, was an uncomplicated means of extending royal influence. It was also a means of making royal power visible on the Empire's peripheries. Indeed, at least two monasteries in the region, Landévennec in western Brittany and Noirmoutier in the Pays-de-Retz, were fortified with royal support.⁹ Aside from their practical functions, these fortifications may well have served as a show of Carolingian strength.¹⁰ Generous royal patronage also had a diplomatic aspect and could buy lasting loyalty. The monks of Landévennec in the far west of Brittany seem to have remained loyal to Carolingian power half a century after the death of their patron Louis, who probably financed rebuilding and fortifications at the monastery.¹¹ Louis also aided the founding of the monastery of Redon on the banks of the Vilaine, another foundation that remained loyal to or neutral towards Frankish rule.¹²

Bishoprics, as well as monastic communities, played a role in defending the march and controlling the Bretons. The Neustrian bishops are thought to have played a leading, quasi-military role in protecting the march from Breton aggression during the seventh and eighth centuries. Not all it seems were in holy orders.¹³ Only in the later eighth century was the march placed under the control of a secular *Praefectus* to organise defense.¹⁴

It may only have been in the early ninth century that the Neustrian bishoprics were 'desecularised'.¹⁵ This 'desecularisation' meant that the offices of bishop and count were separated, in line with the organisational changes brought about by Carolingian correction of ecclesiastical practices (see below). In practice, however, the reordering and correction of the church did not remove bishops from

⁹ For fortifications at Landévennec: Joëlle Quaghebeur, *La Cornouaille du ix^e au xiii^e siècle : mémoires, pouvoirs, noblesse* (Rennes, 2002), pp. 25-9. For fortifications at Noirmoutiers: M. Bouquet, ed. *Recueil des historiens de la Gaule et de la France*, vol. 6 (Poitiers, 1870), pp. 564-5, charter 156.

¹⁰ Smith, *Province and Empire*, p. 79.

¹¹ Quaghebeur, *La Cornouaille*, pp. 25-9; Wrdisten, 'Vita s. Winwaloei primi abbatu Landevennecensis, auctore Wurdestino, nunc primum integre edita', ed. Charles de Smedt, *Analecta Bollandiana* 7 (1888), pp. 167-264, pp. Bk II, ch. 12-3, pp. 226-7. For evidence of fortifications at Landévennec: Annie Bardel, 'L'abbaye saint-Guénolé de Landévennec', *Archéologie Médiévale* 21 (1991), pp. 52-101.

¹² Caroline Brett, ed. *The Monks of Redon: Gesta Sanctorum Rotonensium and Vita Conuuoionis* (Bury St Edmunds, 1989), GSR, Bk I, ch. 8-11, pp. 132-42 and *Vita Conuuoionis*, ch. 5-8, pp. 232-8; Aurélian de Courson, *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Redon en Bretagne, 832-1124* (Paris, 1863), Appendix, ch. 6, pp. 355-6; ch.9, p. 357.

¹³ Smith, *Province and Empire*, pp. 46-7 and p. 58; For a count who seized the marcher bishoprics of Rennes and Nantes, see: Donatus, *Vita Ermenlandi*, in Bruno Krusch and Wilhelm Levison, eds. MGH SRM 5 (Hanover, 1910), pp. 674-10, ch. 13, p. 699. See also Louis Duchesne, *Fastes épiscopaux de l'ancienne Gaule. vol. II L'Aquitaine et les Lyonnaises*, (Paris, 1910), pp. 344-6.

¹⁴ Smith, *Province and Empire*, p. 58.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* p. 47 and pp. 152-3.

their defensive role or from their involvement in secular affairs. Bishops (and abbots) remained responsible for organising the defence of their lands.¹⁶ Indeed, the frequency of Breton raids into Neustria must have compelled some marcher bishops to defend their own and hence Frankia's borders from Breton incursions. These continued into Nominoë's reign, around the time the *Vita Prima Melanii* was written.¹⁷ Bishops retained loyalties too to their kin-group, generally local magnates with their own interests in the region.¹⁸ Wernarius of Rennes, drawn from the Widonid family, powerful in western Neustria, is one probable example.¹⁹ In these cases, 'national' interest and self-interest were often combined.

For Charlemagne, a further step in increasing Carolingian control over the Empire and the march and outlying regions in particular, was to clearly order and structure the church hierarchy, so that each bishop was subject to a metropolitan. This created a clear, royally sanctioned chain of command.²⁰ In Brittany, this meant ensuring that bishops became subject to their ancient metropolitan at Tours, in some cases possibly for the first time since the sixth century (although, some sees, such as Vannes may have had more sustained contact with the Frankish hierarchy).²¹ No Breton hagiography from this period survives and the political relationships its bishops had with Tours and the Frankish rulers have been reconstructed from shreds of evidence from Frankia and from later documentation from Brittany. Nonetheless, it is clear that some Breton bishops acknowledged Frankish authority. Helocar of Alet requested a charter of confirmation from Charlemagne in 814, implicitly acknowledging his overlordship.²² A number of Breton bishops were attendant at least on occasion at the court of Louis the Pious.²³ In the 860s meanwhile, Frankish clerics were able to complain that the Breton bishops had not attended Frankish church councils since the 840s.²⁴ The Breton bishops were thus drawn directly into a Frankish church hierarchy via Tours and more indirectly into a political relationship with the Frankish rulers. The question of Tours' authority was to become a major bone of contention

¹⁶ J. L. Nelson, 'Charlemagne and the bishops' in Robert Meens et al. eds. *Religious Franks: Religion and Power in the Frankish Kingdoms*, (Manchester, 2016), pp. 350-69

¹⁷ For a summary of Breton rebellions during Nominoë's reign, see Smith, *Province and Empire*, pp. 89-100. See also the *Annals of Saint-Bertin*, entries for 843-4 and 849.

¹⁸ Smith, *Province and Empire*, p. 52-5; Nelson, 'Charlemagne and the bishops', p. 358.

¹⁹ Smith, *Province and Empire*, p. 53.

²⁰ Rosamond McKitterick, *Charlemagne: the Formation of a European Identity* (Cambridge, 2008), pp. 299-305.

²¹ For the weakening of links between the Breton churches and their metropolitan: Ian Wood, 'Columbanus, the Britons and the Merovingian church', in Olson, ed. *Samson of Dol*, pp. 103-14; Ian Wood, 'Columbanus in Brittany', in A O'Hara, ed. *Columbanus and the Peoples of Post-Roman Europe*, (New York, 2018), pp. 103-111; Charles de Clercq, ed. *Concilia Galliae A. 511-695* Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina, (Turnhout, 1963). Conc. Turonense a. 567, article 9, p. 179. For the Breton churches' re-engagement with Tours by the first half of the ninth century see the letter from the Council of Soissons, allegedly written in 866 but admittedly preserved only in the eleventh-century chronicle of Nantes: René Merlet, ed. *La chronique de Nantes (570 environ-1049)* (Paris, 1896), ch. 16, pp. 51-7.

²² Charter of indemnity granted by Charlemagne to Hélocar, bishop of Alet and abbot of St-Méen-de-Gaël. The charter does not survive, but was copied by Hyacinthe Morice in his *Mémoires pour servir de preuves à l'histoire ecclésiastique et civile de Bretagne* (Paris, 1742-6), vol. 1, pp. 225-7; Smith, *Province and Empire*, p. 70.

²³ GSR, Bk I, ch. 10, pp. 139-40.

²⁴ *Chronique de Nantes*, pp. 51-7.

for the Breton bishops during the middle and later years of the ninth century.²⁵ The dispute is particularly visible in the hagiographies of Machutus and Maglorius and will be explored at length in chapter 8.

The dispute between Dol and Tours arose around 848/9, when the Breton leader Nominoë effectively removed the Breton churches from the control of Tours by deposing their canonically elected bishops and replacing them with his own candidates.²⁶ Nominoë, who by this time was on the verge of conquering swathes of the march, seems to have had no more intention of reconciling with the church hierarchy than he did with the secular hierarchy. The new Breton bishops seem to have become largely self-governing, much as their predecessors seem to have been during the eighth and ninth centuries.²⁷ They remained so until in 866, when Nominoë's successor but one, Salomon, tried to create his own 'archbishopric' at Dol.²⁸ This was probably an attempt by the Breton leader Salomon to resolve tensions with the papacy and to create a sense of 'national' identity in the recently unified Breton provinces.²⁹ This attempt ultimately failed and some Breton bishops, certainly those of Rennes and Alet, deferred again to Tours, if indeed they had ever failed to do so.³⁰ Dol's ambitions continued in hagiographical form however to the end of the century. They were articulated in the *Vita Maglorii* and also influenced Bili's portrayal of Alet's patron, Machutus.³¹

At more local level, the aristocracy and local leaders seem to have governed the appointment of bishops. Janet Nelson identifies an exception to this rule in the region between the Loire and Rhone, and in Neustria, much of which lay within the metropolitan diocese of Tours.³² Charlemagne took an interest in appointments in the diocese of Tours and in appointments in Neustria more broadly. This may have reflected Tours' proximity to the Carolingian heartlands but also perhaps its proximity to the Breton march.³³ It is possible such control extended to the Rennais in the 820s or 830s, but if so, the *Vitae Melanii* throw no light on the question.

²⁵ Julia M. H. Smith 'The "archbishopric" of Dol and the ecclesiastical politics of ninth-century Brittany' in *Studies in Church History* 18 (1982), pp. 59–70.

²⁶ Ferdinand Lot, 'Le schisme breton du ix^e siècle. Etude sur les sources narratives: *Chronique de Nantes, Gesta Sanctorum Rotonensium, Indiculus de episcoporum Brittonorum dispositione*' in Ferdinand Lot, *Mélanges d'histoire bretonne*, (vie-xie siècle), (Paris, 1907), pp. 58-96; See also: Smith, *Province and Empire*, pp. 154-61 and Chédeville and Hubert, *La Bretagne*, pp. 266-73; GSR, Bk II, ch. 10, pp. 174-82.

²⁷ Smith, *Province and Empire*, pp. 154-61.

²⁸ Smith, 'The "archbishopric" of Dol'; Nicholas I, *Epistulae variae*, eMGH Epp VI, Ep. 122, p. 640; Ep. 126, p. 647; Ep. 129, p. 650; Ep. 107, pp. 619-22.

²⁹ Smith, 'The "archbishopric" of Dol'.

³⁰ For Alet's deference to Tours, see: Bili, *Vita Machutis*, Bk I, ch. 40, p. 378. For the consecration of Electramnus of Rennes at Tours in 866, see: H. Quentin, ed. 'Documents relatifs à l'élection et consécration d'Electranne, évêque de Rennes', *Le Moyen Age*, XVII, 1904, pp. 109-114

³¹ Smith, 'The "archbishopric" of Dol'. See also chapter 8 of this study.

³² For the influence of *correctio* on bishops and bishoprics, see: McKitterick, *Charlemagne*, pp. 399-305 and Michael Edward Moore, *A Sacred Kingdom: Bishops and the Rise of Frankish Kingship, 300-800* (Washington D.C., 2011), 203-327.

³³ Nelson, 'Charlemagne and the bishops', pp. 350-69

In Brittany, Nominoë's dismissal of the Breton bishops must have put an abrupt end to any centralised Frankish control from the 840s-860s. Two generations after Charlemagne's death, the *Vita Pauli Aureliani* and the *vitae Samsonis* both depicted their subjects being appointed bishop by the Frankish emperor Childebert. It is impossible to know however whether these texts reflect real royal influence or rather perhaps an attempt to extricate Paul's and Samson's sees of Léon and Dol respectively from the control of local warlords or other Breton churches who may otherwise have controlled appointments.

Correctio

A final form of Carolingian influence over the church and one that particularly preoccupied hagiographers, was *correctio*, the ordering and improvement of the spiritual life of Empire. Sometimes referred to as 'reform', this was a political and chiefly spiritual mission, one intended to impose 'correct' but not necessarily uniform religious practice on the Carolingian Emperor's subjects.³⁴ Although chiefly religious, *correctio* was also a multi-faceted movement. In part, it was an attempt to return the Empire's churches and governance to an idealised state they had supposedly enjoyed under Roman rule and from which they had supposedly lapsed under Charlemagne's Merovingian predecessors. It was an attempt, too, to create harmony across the Empire, and to ensure a measure of (limited) conformity with the standards of contemporary as well as with historical Rome.³⁵

Early medieval Europe had seen a long series of movements intended to 'correct', 'emend' or 'reform' aspects of ecclesiastical practice.³⁶ The most relevant here are those of Charlemagne's reign, the aims of which are set out in his *Admonitio Generalis* (789).³⁷ This was a statement of his plans for ensuring his subjects believed, understood and followed correct Christian doctrine. This, he argued, would lead to the salvation of both the Emperor and his people. The announcement outlined the

³⁴ There is extensive scholarship on *correctio*, also known as *emendatio*, or reform. For a recent summary of the cultural and political aspects of *correctio*, see: McKitterick, *Charlemagne*, pp. 292-381. See also: Rosamond McKitterick, *The Frankish Church and the Carolingian reforms, 789-895* (London, 1977); Marios Costambeys, Matthew Innes and Simon MacClean, eds. *The Carolingian World* (Cambridge, 2011), pp. 31-79; Rutger Kramer, *Rethinking Authority in the Carolingian Empire (Ideals and Expectations during the Reign of Louis the Pious (813-28))* (Amsterdam, 2019) pp. 31-61; Carine van Rhijn, 'Royal Politics in Small Worlds: Local priests and the implementation of Carolingian *correctio*', in Thomas Kohl et al. eds. *Kleine Welten: Ländliche Gesellschaft in Karolingerreich* (Ostfildern, 2019), pp. 237-53.

³⁵ There is a similarly extensive amount of scholarship on Carolingian imitation of Rome. In addition to the bibliography above, see the collection of essays in: Rosamond McKitterick, *Carolingian Culture: Emulation and Innovation* (Cambridge, 1993). McKitterick, *Charlemagne*, pp. 292-380; Constance Bouchard, *Rewriting Saints and Ancestors: Memory and Forgetting in France, 500-1200* (Philadelphia, 2015), pp. 89-5. For Rome as an ideal during the reign of Charles the Bald, see: Janet Nelson, 'Images of Authority', in M. M. Mackenzie and Charlotte Rouché, eds. *Papers presented to Joyce Reynolds on the occasion of her 70th birthday* (Cambridge, 1989).

³⁶ Julia Barrow, 'Developing definitions of reform in the church in the ninth and tenth centuries', in Ross Balzaretto, Julia Barrow and Patricia Skinner et. al. eds. *Italy and early Medieval Europe: papers for Chris Wickham* (Oxford, 2018), pp. 501-11.

³⁷ Hubert Mordek, Klaus Zechiel-Eckes and Michael Glattahar, eds. *Die Admonitio generalis Karls des Grossen* (Hanover, 2012), pp. 179-239 at ch. 61, p. 58.

purpose of a reform process begun during his father Pippin's reign and marked the beginning of further changes and reforms over the following century.³⁸ Although the text of the *Admonitio Generalis* itself is not known to have been copied in either Neustria or Brittany, the emphasis on pastoral care evident in the *vitae Melanii* and indeed the *Vita Licinii* (written at Angers c. 800) shows that hagiographers in the region did not necessarily deviate greatly from Carolingian norms in the way they presented their episcopal subjects.³⁹

The primary goal of *correctio* was to instruct the Empire's subjects, from Emperor to peasant, in the Christian religion and ensure that all observed correct religious practice, whether in prayer, liturgy or in observance of the law. The salvation of the Empire and emperor were believed to be dependent upon reform and therefore on the correct practices of their clergy. These 'correct' practices however saw a great deal of variation, depending on the interpretations of different bishops, and indeed priests, and their interaction with older, more local usages.⁴⁰

The task of educating the laity was to be accomplished by priests, under the supervision of their bishops – bishops were thus ultimately responsible for pastoral care within their dioceses. Bishops' roles were to include travelling around the diocese visiting parish churches and officiating at confirmations, ensuring that poor behaviour was corrected, that the poor were supported and that the Christian faith was properly taught.⁴¹ None of these duties were significant innovations. Pastoral care had formed part of bishops' and priests' duties for centuries.⁴² What was new was the level of top-down emphasis on pastoral care for the populace, coming from the royal court, and the ways that these duties were codified and emphasised. A further facet of *correctio* was a division of religious labour. While priests and bishops were to take care of the people and their souls, monks were to remain in the cloister, supporting the Emperor and his people through their prayers.⁴³ The monastic life therefore had to be regulated and codified to ensure the success of these prayers.⁴⁴

³⁸ There is extensive scholarship on *correctio*, also known as *emendatio*, or reform. See in particular: McKitterick, *The Frankish Church and the Carolingian reforms*, and McKitterick, *The Frankish kingdoms*, pp. 57-62. For more recent developments, including the political and cultural nature of these reforms, see among others: Costambeys, Innes and MacClean, *The Carolingian World*, pp. 31-79; Kramer, *Rethinking Authority*, pp. 31-61; McKitterick, *Charlemagne*, pp. 292-380.

³⁹ For the lack of evidence for circulation of the *Admonitio generalis* in Neustria and Brittany, see: Smith, *Province and Empire*, p. 178. The anonymous, late eighth-century *Vita Licinii* emphasises pastoral care: *Vita Licinii*, AA SS Februarii, vol. II, pp. 675-82.

⁴⁰ Nelson, 'Charlemagne and the bishops'; van Rhijn, 'Royal Politics in Small Worlds'.

⁴¹ McKitterick, *The Frankish Church*, p. 13; McKitterick gives the example of the Council of Mainz: Council of Mainz, MGH Conc. II, ch. 8, p. 262; For more on the role of bishops in spreading reform and upholding Charlemagne's rule, see: Mayke de Jong, 'Charlemagne's church', in Joanna Story, ed. *Charlemagne: Empire and Society* (Manchester, 2005), pp. 103-35 and Moore, *A Sacred Kingdom*, pp. 286-321.

⁴² Carine van Rhijn and Steffen Patzold, 'Introduction', in Steffen Patzold and Carine van Rhijn, eds. *Men in the Middle: Local Priests in Early Medieval Europe* (Berlin/Boston, 2016), pp. 1-10.

⁴³ McKitterick *The Frankish Church*, p. 13, MGH Conc. II, preface, pp. 259-60; de Jong, 'Charlemagne's church'.

⁴⁴ de Jong, 'Charlemagne's church' at pp. 119-28.

Correctio was also a cultural and political movement, intended to justify and reinforce the Carolingian rulers' status as Roman Emperors. The church reforms were intended to return the Empire's churches to an idealised state they had supposedly enjoyed under the Christian Roman Emperors, before the ascent of the Merovingian dynasty.⁴⁵ *Correctio* therefore affected many aspects of religious and cultural life, beyond pastoral care. These more cultural aspects of reform may have been largely incidental to *correctio*'s political and religious goals, but they are symptomatic of the movement. Attempts were made either to return the liturgy, written script, libraries and music to their original, 'Roman' state, or to one that conformed to the ideals of contemporary papal Rome.⁴⁶ In scriptoria, earlier scripts gave way to Caroline minuscule, based on the script of the Romans.⁴⁷ Written Latin was reformed to imitate classical Latin grammar, since the written and especially spoken language had evolved, in Francia and elsewhere, into proto-Romance over the centuries since the retreat of Rome.⁴⁸ There was intense copying and imitation of classical works, both Christian and pagan, ranging from literature to music to art.⁴⁹

These cultural changes served a religious purpose, yet they had political implications even beyond justifying the Carolingian rulers' position as Roman Emperors and defenders of the Papacy. By creating a set of normative standards, Charlemagne and his bishops inevitably created a caste of outsiders – those subject peoples whose practices did not align with those prescribed by the reformers. This in turn helped provide a religious justification for Carolingian domination of subject peoples.⁵⁰ Chief among these were the Bretons, whose 'incorrect' practices led to them being castigated as 'barely Christian' by Carolingian commentators.⁵¹ Breton acceptance, or not, of reforms might therefore be read as a measure, and only one among many, of Breton integration into the Empire by the latter half of the ninth century.

Yet this measure should be approached with caution. Although the ideals for which the reformers strived were easily codified and written into the canons of the Carolingian church councils, van Rhijn emphasises that there was much leeway in the ways they could be enacted on the ground.⁵² The

⁴⁵ McKitterick, *Charlemagne*, pp. 292-380; For a study of the creation as well as the imitation of Roman traditions in Metz, see: M. A. Claussen, *The Reform of the Frankish Church: Chrodegang of Metz and the Regula Canonorum in the Eighth Century* (Cambridge, 2004). See also McKitterick, *Carolingian Culture*.

⁴⁶ McKitterick, *Carolingian Culture* contains a series of essays on links between Roman and Carolingian practice on script, law, music, grammar and libraries.

⁴⁷ Rosamond McKitterick, 'Script and book production', in *ibid.* pp. 221-47.

⁴⁸ The evolution of Latin into Romance is explored in a collection of essays: Mary Garrison, Arpad P. Orban et al. eds. *Spoken and written language: Relations between the vernacular languages in the earlier middle ages* (Turnhout, 2013). See in particular: Marc van Uytfaange, 'L'ancien français (archaïque)', in *ibid.* pp. 149-62 and Roger Wright, 'A socio-philological study of change', in *ibid.* pp. 133-47. For the re-establishment of classical Latin grammar and the separation of the written from the spoken language, see: McKitterick, ed. 'Latin and Romance' and Vivien Law, 'The study of grammar', in McKitterick, *Carolingian Culture*, pp. 88-110.

⁴⁹ McKitterick, *Charlemagne*, pp. 292-380; McKitterick, *Carolingian Culture*.

⁵⁰ McKitterick, *Charlemagne*, pp. 292-380; Bouchard, *Rewriting Saints and Ancestors*, pp. 90-98.

⁵¹ Smith, *Province and Empire*, pp. 60-66.

⁵² Van Rhijn, 'Royal Politics in Small Worlds'.

recommendations and indeed opinions of the scholars who directed the processes of *correctio* also varied. Indeed, the reformers never aimed for absolute uniformity, especially in liturgical practice, but may rather have intended to use Roman exemplars as models that could be imitated, but also adapted to local uses.⁵³ Implementation of *correctio* was not therefore uniform across the Empire and it is unlikely ever to have been comprehensive. On the topic of pastoral care, which chapter 7 addresses, both bishops and priests are likely to have had varying opinions. The different Carolingian bishops meanwhile cannot be seen as a homogenous grouping and doubtless had their own interpretations of the instructions they were given by reformers. Local priests too played their own role in interpreting the Carolingian reforms, exercising their own judgement in the compilation of handbooks and liturgical texts, and indeed in how they interpreted the texts to which they had access.⁵⁴ The variation in interpretations of *correctio* means that while Breton *acceptance* of reforms (broadly defined) can be taken as a measure of cohesion, one should not read too much into Breton deviation from the ideals written in the Carolingian church canons. Some degree of variation is only to be expected and it need not indicate that its churches were unusual in failing to adhere to the reformers' strictures.

Correctio in Brittany

The Breton churches are known to have retained many regional particularities into the ninth century.⁵⁵ However, they also seem to have adopted some norms of the Carolingian church (e.g. script, aspects of the Benedictine Rule) by the middle of the century. The paucity of documentary evidence from Brittany itself however means it is not always easy to establish the level of change this involved. For example, it is difficult to tell how dramatically more uniform implementation of the Benedictine Rule represented a break with the past for Breton foundations. It is difficult too to generalise about the Breton churches, which lacked a centralised church structure and seem only intermittently to have been under the control of Tours.⁵⁶ Nonetheless, the norms associated with *correctio* can still serve as a measure, albeit an imperfect one, of Carolingian influence in Brittany.

One measure of reform might be the introduction of the Benedictine Rule, thought to have largely replaced earlier, mixed rules, starting at Landévennec in 818.⁵⁷ The abbey does not seem to have abandoned its earlier rules entirely however. Quotations from them litter Wrdisten's work, written in

⁵³ Regional variations in *correctio* are emphasised in Kramer, *Rethinking Authority*. See also Claussen, *The Reform of the Frankish Church*, pp. 266-71; Rosamond McKitterick makes the point that it was only in the later stages of *correctio* that reformers aimed for unity as opposed to 'harmony' in the way texts were used across the Empire. Review of Gregorian Chant and the Carolingians by Kenneth Levy, in *Early Music Journal* 19 (2000), pp. 279-91. See also the collection of essays in Patzold and van Rhijn, *Men in the Middle*.

⁵⁴ Van Rhijn, 'Royal Politics in Small Worlds'.

⁵⁵ See in particular Wendy Davies, *Small Worlds: the Village Community in Early Medieval Brittany* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1988), pp. 211-13.

⁵⁶ A point already made by Julia Smith, *Province and Empire*, p. 186.

⁵⁷ *Vita Winwaloei*, Bk, II, ch. 14, pp. 227.

the 850s or 860s, suggesting they remained influential, at least in literary form.⁵⁸ Indeed, to suggest the Benedictine Rule came to dominate entirely at Landévennec may be to overinterpret Wrdisten's claim that an earlier, more ascetic rule was abandoned. More complete observance of the Rule is attested in hagiographies from Dol and Alet in the 860s and it was almost certainly practised at Redon from its foundation in the 830s.⁵⁹ How accurately these hagiographical representations reflected day-to-day reality at other foundations is uncertain. There is clear evidence however that by the latter half of the century, a Breton, Insular script gave way to the Caroline minuscule dictated by Charlemagne's court.⁶⁰ Meanwhile, standard, classical or Carolingian Latin grammar was used by the latter half of the century, but evidence for this survives mainly from eastern Brittany.⁶¹

Yet other aspects of Breton practices diverged dramatically from Carolingian norms. Surviving Breton art from Landévennec suggests manuscript decoration was less influenced by cultural aspects of reform at that foundation than other aspects of monastic life.⁶² Pastoral care in particular seems to have followed older, more Insular norms. A number of scholars have made some inroads into illuminating how far Carolingian ideals of and arrangements for pastoral care were enacted in Brittany.⁶³ Julia Smith observes that the clergy seem not to have been aware of many of the ideals of reform emanating from the Carolingian church and papacy.⁶⁴ In terms of structure the priesthood served *plebes*, which did not correspond to the parish system in place across much of Europe.⁶⁵ Penitentials, meanwhile seem to have remained distinctly Insular.⁶⁶ How far this reflects priests' own initiative, the texts available to them or the intellectual leanings of the Breton bishops is unclear. Probably all three factors played a role in their composition. That the handbooks survive only from the ninth century may however suggest that ninth-century attempts to order and improve pastoral care had penetrated too to the Breton priesthood, perhaps under the influence of Salomon or the Carolingian rulers.

⁵⁸ Poulin lists the various rules cited in the *Vita Winaloei*: Joseph-Claude Poulin, *L'hagiographie bretonne du haut moyen âge: répertoire raisonné* (Turnhout, 2008), pp. 419-20.

⁵⁹ This paragraph summarises the conclusions of Mélanie Hamon: *Vies de saints bretons et règles monastiques: Etude de l'introduction de la Règle de saint Benoît dans les monastères armoricains d'après l'hagiographie bénédictine du haut Moyen Âge* (Morlaix, Hor Yezh, 1998). For the Benedictine Rule at Saint-Malo, see: Bernard Merdrignac, 'La vie quotidienne dans les monastères bretons du haut Moyen Âge, à partir des "vitae" carolingiennes', esp. pp. 36-8.

⁶⁰ For a summary of changes in script in Brittany, see Smith, *Province and Empire*, pp. 167-70. For more specific studies, see: Dumville, 'Writers, Scribes and Readers in Brittany', pp. 49-52. For a list of manuscripts produced in Brittany, see: Deuffic 'La production manuscrite'.

⁶¹ Smith, *Province and Empire*, pp. 173-7.

⁶² There is some evidence Carolingian artistic norms, modelled on classical models, were rejected at Landévennec: Jonathan J. C. Alexander, 'La résistance à la domination culturelle carolingienne dans l'art breton du IXe siècle: le témoignage de l'enluminure des manuscrits', in Marc Simon, ed. *Landévennec et la monachisme breton dans le haut moyen âge: Actes du Colloque du 15e centenaire de l'abbaye de Landévennec, 25-26-27 avril 1985* (Landévennec, 1985), pp. 269-73.

⁶³ For scholarship on reforms in Brittany, see: Jean-Luc Deuffic, 'Le "monachisme breton" continental: ses origines et son intégration dans le modèle carolingien', in Jean-Luc Deuffic, ed. *La Bretagne carolingienne: entre influences insulaires et continentales*, Pecia 12, (Saint-Denis, 2008), pp. 77-141; Flechner, 'Aspects of the Breton transmission' of the *Hibernensis* and Davies, 'Rural Priests in East Brittany'.

⁶⁴ Smith, *Province and Empire*, pp. 178-80.

⁶⁵ Davies, 'Priests in eastern Brittany'; Smith, *Province and Empire*, pp. 180-85.

⁶⁶ Smith, *Province and Empire*, pp. 179.

It is unclear therefore whether local Breton churches were keen to acquire knowledge of reformed Carolingian practices, or whether they were resistant to change.⁶⁷ Given the relative lack of centralised control in Brittany, it is perhaps unwise to attempt to generalise.⁶⁸ There is evidence however that some monastic foundations in Brittany seem actively have aided the spread of *correctio*, or to have sought out its tenets.⁶⁹ Redon in particular seems to have played a role in disseminating monastic reform in the region.⁷⁰

Hagiography: its audiences, purpose and composition

Hagiographers' political loyalties and cultural influences are often the main focus of interest for twenty-first century scholars. However, they did not necessarily form the focal point of saints' *vitae*, which were usually directed towards religious celebration of their subjects.⁷¹ In the most basic sense, hagiographies were texts intended to demonstrate the sanctity of their subjects, usually using the example of moral virtues and of the miracles that were believed to result from these virtues. This is articulated most famously perhaps by Gregory of Tours in the *Preface* to his Latin translation of the *Acta Andreae*, where he states that he writes so that Andrew's 'admirable miracles' might 'procure grace for their readers'. These purposes might equally be applicable to later hagiographies.⁷² Historians interested in intended audiences' political loyalties and the cultural milieu in which hagiographers wrote must infer these indirectly from the text.⁷³

As well as meeting the spiritual needs of their audiences, hagiographies promised that their subjects could fulfil more immediate needs through their virtues and miracles. The two were more or less the same, since miracles, it was believed, could only result from a saint's extreme virtue. Indeed, the Latin word *virtus* (virtue) soon acquired the meaning 'miracle', and if anything came to overshadow the original meaning by the late Merovingian era.⁷⁴ These virtues were believed to heal illness if a patient

⁶⁷ Compare Smith, *Province and Empire*, p. 178 and p. 185. with Flechner, 'Aspects of the Breton transmission'; McKitterick *The Frankish Kingdoms*, pp. 241-8; Alexander, 'La résistance à la domination.

⁶⁸ Smith, *Province and Empire*, p. 186.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.* p. 177.

⁷⁰ Deuffic, 'le "monachisme bretonne" continentale', esp. pp. 106-113. For the Benedictine Rule at Léhon, see: Brett, *Gesta Sanctorum Rotonensium*, III.3, pp. 194-6. James Miller, in his unpublished MPhil thesis (ASNC, Cambridge, 2017) argued that the monks of Léhon may also have been responsible for the spread of reform within Brittany, having first taken instruction from the monks of Redon.

⁷¹ Julia M. H. Smith, 'Early medieval hagiography in the late twentieth century', in *Early Medieval Europe*, 1.1 (1992), pp. 69-76, pp. 72-3.

⁷² Jean-Marc Prieur, ed. *Acta Andreae: textus: vol.1 Gregoire de Tours, Vie d'André* (Turnhout, 1989), *Preface*, pp. 566-9 (*admiranda miracula...legendibus praestaeret gratiam*).

⁷³ For the difficulty of teasing apart historical 'realities' from textual sources, see: Gabriele Spiegel, *The Past as Text: The Theory and Practice of Medieval Historiography* (Baltimore, 1997).

⁷⁴ Paul Fouracre and Richard Gerberding also provide a broad overview of audiences for hagiography in Frankia: *Late Merovingian France: History and Hagiography 640-720* (Manchester, 1996), pp. 44-5. For the meanings of *virtus*, see *ibid.* p. 67.

came into contact with them in the form of relics, which is why hagiographies were often though not necessarily linked to the promotion of relic shrines.⁷⁵ This was true in eastern Brittany, at Alet, Léhon and Redon, as well as in Frankia.⁷⁶ Maglorius' *Translatio* and post-mortem miracles focus heavily on authenticating his relics and demonstrating their miracle-working power. Relics might also enable a saint to protect a region from invaders, a particularly important purpose on the borders of the Empire and one that is important to the *Vita Melanii*, discussed in chapter 6.

To interpret any text, it helps to know its audience, how the text might have been used and how the author might have expressed their messages, consciously or unconsciously. In the Merovingian and Carolingian worlds, hagiographies were composed for private reading, for preaching or, from the eighth century, for liturgical use.⁷⁷ They were also matter for private reading and contemplation, although contemplation was more a function of those written in verse. Van Uytfanghe gives the example of Alcuin's verse *Vitae Willibrordi*, written for contemplation, as opposed to the prose version, composed for the liturgy. This was a common dichotomy and one that suggests the three prose hagiographies examined here were intended more for preaching than for contemplation.⁷⁸ To an extent therefore, prose *vitae* were public documents, whose messages could be heard and understood by a wider audience than the more linguistically demanding verse *vitae*.

The *Vita Melanii*, written in Romance-speaking Rennes might well have been used in this way. The situation is less clear in Brittany. Brittany's rather mixed linguistic map raises the question of whether or not hagiographies were used for preaching to the populace there as they were in Frankia. Scholars have commented that Breton hagiographers tended to treat Latin as a learned language. Yet the region's elites were probably bilingual. This was probably true too of traders, sailors and ordinary people, especially in the east of the region where Romance was spoken.⁷⁹ It need not follow that they could follow learned texts, but there is some evidence from Bili's *Prologue* to his *Vita Mathutis* that some members of the laity might have been able to do so. Bili states that his work was intended to be

⁷⁵ For Carolingian examples from western Frankia, some intended to promote relic shrines and others not, see: Thomas Head, *Hagiography and the Cult of Saints: the diocese of Orléans, 800-1200* (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 20-57.

⁷⁶ Both the *Gesta Sanctorum Rotonensium* and Bili's *Vita Machutis* focus heavily on the promotion of relics: J. M. H. Smith, 'Aedificatio sancti loci: the making of a ninth-century holy place', in Mayke de Jong, Frans Theuws and Carine van Rhijn, eds. *Topographies of power in the early middle ages* (Leiden, 2001), pp. 361-96, esp. pp. 385-90; Julia M. H. Smith, 'Oral and Written: Saints, Miracles, and Relics in Brittany, c. 850-1250' in *Speculum* 65, no. 2 (1990), pp. 309-43.

⁷⁷ For a discussion of the audiences for medieval hagiographies, see: Lapidge, 'Editing hagiography' and for Carolingian audiences specifically, see: Katrien Heene, 'Audire, legere, vulgo': An attempt to define Public Use and Comprehensibility of Carolingian Hagiography', in R. Wright, ed. *Latin and the Romance Languages in the early middle ages*, (London, 1991) pp. 146-63. Fouracre and Gerberding also provide a broad overview of audiences for hagiography in Frankia: *Late Merovingian France*, pp. 193-203.

⁷⁸ Marc van Uytfanghe, 'Le remploi dans l'hagiographie: une "loi du genre" qui étouffe l'originalité?' *Ideologie e pratiche del reimpiego nell'Alto Medioevo: settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo* 46 (Spoleto, 1999), pp. 359-411, at pp. 362-5.

⁷⁹ Bernard Tanguy, 'La limite linguistique dans la péninsule armoricaine à l'époque de l'émigration (IVe-Ve siècle) d'après les données toponymiques', in *Annales de Bretagne et des pays de l'ouest* 87:3 (1980), pp. 429-62; Chédeville and Guillotel, *La Bretagne*, pp. 89-111. See map in Smith, *Province and Empire*, p. xx.

both read and heard in the churches of the diocese of Alet.⁸⁰ Whether the intended audiences were clerical or formed also of laity it is impossible to say, but it is clear from his *Prologue* that the work was read away from Alet and intended to be widely heard. The same may therefore be true of other hagiographies, such as the VSS and *Vita Maglorii*, written for cathedral communities in the east of Brittany.

Aside from the populace, audiences for hagiographies might include wealthier or more educated members of the laity, especially in Frankia. Brittany, ruled largely by warlords until the early ninth century, may not traditionally have had educated laity able to act as patrons of the arts in the manner of their Frankish counterparts.⁸¹ There was the potential for this to change however during (or even before) Salomon's reign as the province became increasingly unified and its lay elites sought increasingly to control, and act as patrons of, the church. Salomon's reign saw a huge increase in book production and Julia Smith has suggested tentatively that he may have encouraged a renaissance of learning in imitation of that taking place in Frankia.⁸² Whether Salomon acted as patron of learning or not, his presence at Plélan in the diocese of Alet may have shaped the way Bili composed his *Life* of St Machutus (see chapters 3 and 7). It is certainly true that his political initiatives were echoed in hagiographies at Dol, Léhon and Alet, even if it is unclear whether he and his retinue were prospective patrons or audiences.

Hagiographies served a number of purposes besides devotion or instruction. They are also forms of history writing, designed to mould the collective memories of the foundations for which they were written. As in other forms of history writing – both modern and especially medieval – these narratives were not passively constructed, unimaginative collections of memories, but were actively shaped to meet the needs of the present.⁸³ On a political level, they might be considered to 'justify the present' by presenting the past in ways that foreshadowed and explained it.⁸⁴ They are therefore useful mirrors of political needs and ambitions at the time they were written, if not of the periods that on the surface they claim to represent.

⁸⁰ Ferdinand Lot, ed. 'La *Vita Machutis* par Bili', in Ferdinand Lot *Mélanges d'histoire bretonne (vie-xie siècle)* (Paris, 1907), pp. 331-430, *Prologue* III, p. 350.

⁸¹ For governance of the early medieval Brittany, see: Caroline Brett, 'Soldiers, saints and states? The Breton migrations revisited', in *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies* 61 (Summer 2011), pp. 1-56; Charles-Edwards, *Wales and the Britons*, pp. 56-74; Smith, *Province and Empire*, p. 119. For a lack of rulers able to act as patrons of the arts, see: Caroline Brett, 'Breton Latin Literature as evidence for the vernacular', in *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies* 18 (1989), pp. 1-25.

⁸² Smith, *Province and Empire*, p. 173. For the increase in book production see also: Dumville, 'Writers, scribes and readers', pp. 52-3.

⁸³ For four case studies of medieval history writers and the ways they shaped their narratives to meet the needs of their audiences, see: Walter Goffart: *The Narrators of Barbarian History: Jordanes, Gregory of Tours, Bede and Paul the Deacon* (Princeton, 1988). Thomas Head also addresses the writing of history in the region of Orléans, from the Carolingian era to the twelfth century: Head, *Hagiography and the Cult of Saints*.

⁸⁴ Felice Lifschitz, *The Norman Conquest of Pious Neustria: Historiographic Discourse and Saintly Relics 684-1090* (Toronto, 1995), p. 13, note 34. Lifschitz discusses the audiences and political imperatives of hagiographers more broadly on pp. 13-7.

Justifications for the present could be ideological, intended to demonstrate that a foundation's patron demonstrated loyalty to a particular set of ideals.⁸⁵ They could also provide examples of ideal behaviour for readers or listeners, and illustrations of how bad behaviour might be punished, potentially seeking to influence the behaviour of audiences on a political as well as on a moral level. A frequently cited example is the Merovingian *Life* of Germanus of Auxerre. Germanus' fifth-century *Life* was originally written as an exemplar of good behaviour for friends and acquaintances of bishop Patientius of Lyons. Germanus' Carolingian hagiography too was written for a lay audience, this time for Charles the Bald and his circle.⁸⁶ Examples of good behaviour might equally be followed by clergy. This makes hagiography a particularly apt way of charting the progress and interpretation of *correctio* at individual foundations. *Correctio* after all was an ideology, one intended to shape the ideals and practices of the Empire's churches.

Hagiographies could serve too to justify the claims of the foundations for which they were written, whether these were claims to relics, precedence or land.⁸⁷ A well-known example from Brittany is the *Vita Secunda Samsonis*, written to promote Dol's supremacy over its Breton neighbours.⁸⁸ There is a series of similar, contemporary parallels from the diocese of Le Mans.⁸⁹ Loyalty to a particular patron or dynasty might also be emphasised. Joëlle Quaghebeur highlights the probable influence of political loyalty to the Carolingian rulers in Wrdisten's *Life* of Guénolé, patron of Landévennec (see below for expressions of loyalty to Carolingian rulers in Frankish hagiography).⁹⁰ I argue that an interest in Dol's claim to precedence over the other Breton sees played a major role in shaping Maglorius' hagiography in chapter 8.

Even those hagiographies written with less obvious agendas largely reflect the political imperatives of their creators: for instance, their literary sources and style might reflect broader cultural and political movements, such as the return to classical Latin and the use of classical sources that are hallmarks of the Carolingian renaissance.⁹¹ Lifshitz notes the sudden appearance of these features in Neustria from

⁸⁵ For studies of ideological preoccupations in hagiography see: Monique Goulet and Martin Heinzelmänn, eds. *La Réécriture Hagiographique dans l'occident médiévale: Transformations formelles et idéologiques* (Osfildern, 2003).

⁸⁶ Wolfert van Egmond, *Conversing with the saints: Communication in pre-Carolingian hagiography* (Turhout, 2006). A broader and more recent study of hagiography as a guide to good behaviour for lay elites is Jamie Kreiner, *The Social Life of Hagiography in the Merovingian Kingdom* (Cambridge, 2014), p. 25 and pp. 15-20.

⁸⁷ Wendy Davies highlights the number of land grants embedded in hagiographies from Wales and Brittany: Wendy Davies, 'The Latin Charter Tradition' in D. Whitelock, R. McKitterick and D. Dumville, eds. *Notes on Ireland in Early Medieval Europe: Studies in Memory of Kathleen Hughes* (Cambridge, 1982) pp. 258-280.

⁸⁸ Richard Sowerby, 'The Lives of St Samson: Rewriting the ambitions of an early medieval cult' in *Francia* 38 (2011), pp. 1-32.

⁸⁹ Walter Goffart, *The Le Mans Forgeries: A chapter from the history of church property in the ninth century*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1966).

⁹⁰ Quaghebeur, *La Cornouaille*, pp. 31-2.

⁹¹ Smith, 'Early medieval hagiography', pp. 69-76, pp. 72-3. For studies of ideological preoccupations in hagiography see: Goulet and Heinzelmänn, eds. *La Réécriture Hagiographique*.

the middle of the ninth century.⁹² Thomas Head meanwhile draws a distinction between local hagiographers focused largely on local memory and ‘court’ hagiographers whose interests were closer to the royal court and whose style tended to reflect the classical influences of the Carolingian renaissance.⁹³ Such dichotomies are by no means pure and are perhaps partly artificial, but they nonetheless have the potential to demonstrate where the Carolingian ‘centre’ exercised influence over a peripheral region or a foundation with a relatively small, local sphere of interest.

Hagiographers’ ecclesiastical and political preoccupations and the ways they expressed them form one of the main themes of this study. I pay particular attention to two methods by which hagiographers conveyed their messages: first, the sub-texts that formed consciously or sub-consciously as hagiographers composed their work and second, the rewriting of hagiography. These will prove vital to interpreting hagiography as indeed they are for almost any medieval text.

How to write a hagiography – and how to read one

Medieval authors tended to rely heavily on earlier sources as they wrote, variously copying from them directly, paraphrasing them or using them as models. This could be the case even where a subject was only recently deceased and where the hagiographer had plentiful material about his or her life.

Venantius Fortunatus’ *Vita Radegundis*, mentioned briefly below, is a case in point.⁹⁴ Reliance on earlier sources tended to be even greater however when a subject had lived some centuries before their hagiography was written and where information about the historical person was scant.⁹⁵ This was the case with all three hagiographical collections considered here. Melanius, Machutus and Maglorius lived in the sixth century, some three hundred years before their hagiographies were written. Their authors, to varying degrees, rely heavily on earlier hagiographies and these earlier sources will prove vital to assessing them in Part II.

Authors’ motivations for copying their predecessors’ work, and the ways that modern scholars have perceived it, varied.⁹⁶ Dolbeau and Van Uytfanghe present hagiographers’ tendency to copy from earlier sources as a means of ‘finding’ information where historical traditions about a subject were

⁹² Lifschitz, *The Norman Conquest of Pious Neustria*, p. 16.

⁹³ Head, *Hagiography and the Cult of Saints*, pp. 42-7, esp. p. 45.

⁹⁴ Venantius Fortunatus, *De vita sanctae Radegundis*, ed. Bruno Krusch, MGH SS rer. Mer. 2 (Hanover, 1888), pp. 358-95.

⁹⁵ Dolbeau provides a detailed study of how hagiographers constructed their work from documentary and oral sources about their subject, often complemented with material from other saints’ hagiographies where these were lacking: François Dolbeau, ‘Les hagiographes au travail: collecte et traitement des documents écrits, IXe-XIIe siècles’, in M. Heinzelmann, ed. *Manuscrits hagiographiques et travail des hagiographes* (1992), pp. 49-76. See also Van Uytfanghe, ‘Le remploi dans l’hagiographie’. Thomas Head also discussed this process in ninth-century Orléans: *Hagiography and the Cult of Saints*, pp. 31-48.

⁹⁶ Developments in the ways that scholars have moved from seeing the author as naïve scribe to intelligent editor are summarised by Walter Pohl: ‘History in Fragments: Montecassino’s politics of memory’, in *Early Medieval Europe* 10 (3), pp. 343-74, pp. 1-10.

lacking. Dolbeau describes a process whereby a hagiographer might commence their work with a search for oral or documentary traditions about their subject and if these were lacking would fill the gap with material taken from other hagiographies.⁹⁷ Dolbeau cites the tenth-century example of Hucbald of Saint-Amand in north-eastern France. Hucbald freely admitted to composing a *Life* of St Jonat of nearby Marchiennes using material from the *Vitae* of Amand and his associates, due to a lack of material (*materia non apparente*) on Jonat himself.⁹⁸ Van Uytfanghe similarly attributes large-scale copying to a lack of information, although he also adds further reasons - ‘inertia’ on the part of the hagiographer, a desire to imitate or pay homage to the saint whose hagiography is copied or the hagiographer’s sheer inability to express themselves better in their own words.⁹⁹

Dolbeau and van Uytfanghe were correct in their descriptions of the process of sourcing material for and writing hagiography even if they failed to appreciate the full range of motivations behind such copying. Their arguments are well-supported by hagiographers such as Hucbald who sometimes hint at their own work processes. It would be simplistic however to assume that hagiographers were motivated solely by a need to source information, or to assume that verbatim copying reflected laziness or failure of imagination on their part. Walter Goffart, in his study of a number of Merovingian and Carolingian historians emphasised particularly clearly that authors did not copy naively, but made conscious decisions to use the material they did.¹⁰⁰ Discussing Aelfric’s work some decades later, Joyce Hill too drew attention to the way earlier authorities were selectively quoted to lend authority to newer works.¹⁰¹ An intertextual approach has already been used with some success in discussing *correctio*, by M. A. Claussen in his examination of the *Rule* of Chrodegang.¹⁰²

These conclusions are equally true of hagiographers, who quoted, paraphrased and imitated a wide range of sources, some easily recognisable to their audiences, to convey spiritual and political messages. Since this study examines and interprets a number of hagiographies that were particularly reliant on earlier sources, it is worth discussing briefly the mindset with which a ninth-century audience might have approached these more intertextual aspects of hagiography.

Hagiography as exegesis

⁹⁷ Dolbeau, ‘Les hagiographes au travail’, summarises the likely processes behind the construction of a saint’s *life*, pp. 47-55.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.* p. 55.

⁹⁹ Van Uytfanghe, ‘Le remploi dans l’hagiographie’, p. 378.

¹⁰⁰ This approach is exemplified in Goffart: *The Narrators of Barbarian History*.

¹⁰¹ Joyce Hill, ‘Authority and Intertextuality in Ælfric’ in *Proceedings of the British Academy* 131 (2004), pp. 157-81 and more recently, ‘Weaving and Interweaving: the textual traditions of two of Ælfric’s supplementary homilies’, in J. Frederick, E. Treharne et al. *Textiles, Text, Intertext: Essays in Honour of Gale R. Owen-Crocker* (Woodbridge, 2016), pp. 211-24.

¹⁰² Claussen, *The Reform of the Frankish Church*, see pp. 166-9 for further discussion of medieval intertextuality.

Hagiographies were modelled on the Scriptures, chiefly though not solely on the Gospels. At the same time, hagiographers might use their work to comment on or interpret those scriptures, so it is impossible always to tease apart the more passive process of borrowing or modelling from the more active process of commentary. Veyrard-Cosmé describes the relationship between Scriptures and hagiography as a ‘spiral’, in which the processes of quotation and interpretation influence one another.¹⁰³ It was precisely through hagiographers’ adaptation of Biblical models and motifs that hagiographies became types of exegesis.¹⁰⁴

Exegesis – particularly Biblical exegesis or the interpretation of sacred scripture – was of overwhelming interest to clerics from late antiquity and throughout the middle ages. Clergy, even those in priestly orders, may have had ample time to ruminate upon hagiographies and to appreciate layers of meaning that might not have been clear at first sight.¹⁰⁵ Key to the interpretation of the Scriptures was the idea that the Old Testament prefigured the New, or in other words, how the New Testament fulfilled the Old.¹⁰⁶ The key authority on this is de Lubac’s *Exégèse Médiévale*.¹⁰⁷ The Old Testament in particular was often subject to figurative or allegorical interpretation. Despite hagiographers’ preference for the New Testament as a model, exegesis on both this and on the Old Testament can be found in hagiography. Allegorical interpretations of the Old Testament figure particularly in the *Vita Maglorii* and its treatment of Samson and Maglorius, whom the author compares to the Old Testament judges of Israel. The *Vita Maglorii* and to a lesser extent the other hagiographies studied here should therefore be treated not only as commentaries on the medieval present, but on the distant, Biblical past, calling on the one to help illustrate the other.

The discipline of exegesis was developed by a number of Christian commentators from late antiquity, who argued that there were four senses or means of interpreting a text: literal, moral, allegorical and mystical.¹⁰⁸ The allegorical interpretation will be the most significant of their ideas here. It involved

¹⁰³ Christiane Veyrard-Cosmé, ‘Typologie et hagiographie en prose carolingienne: mode de pensée et réécriture. Etude de la *Vita Willibrordi*, de la *Vita Vedasti* et de la *Vita Richarii* d’Alcuin’ in D. Boutet and L. Harf-Lancner, eds. *Ecriture et modes de pensée au Moyen Age* (VIIIe-XVe siècles) (Paris, 1993), pp. 157-86 [This article could not be consulted due to COVID restrictions]. Veyrard Cosmé’s study and edition of three of Alcuin’s works further highlights the use of Scriptures both as inspiration and as intertextual references for hagiographers: Christiane Veyrard-Cosmé, *L’œuvre hagiographique en prose d’Alcuin: Vitae Willibrordi, Vedasti, Richarii, Edition, traduction, études narratologiques* (Florence, 2003), pp. 329-82.

¹⁰⁴ For a summary of the relationship between the Scriptures and hagiography, see: Goulet, *Ecriture et réécriture*, pp. 210-12. For more detailed discussions, see: Veyrard-Cosmé, ‘Typologie et hagiographie’; Marc van Uytfanghe, ‘Modèles bibliques dans l’hagiographie’, in P. Riché and G. Lobrichon, eds. *Le Moyen Age et La Bible* (Paris, 1984), pp. 449-88; ‘Le culte des saints et l’hagiographie en face à l’écriture: les avatars d’une relation ambiguë’, in *Santi e demoni nell’alto medioevo occidentale (secoli v-xi)* (Spoleto, 1989), pp. 156-202.

¹⁰⁵ Denys Turner, ‘Allegory in Christian Late Antiquity’ in Rita Copeland and Peter Struck, eds. *The Cambridge Companion to Allegory* (Cambridge, 2010) pp. 71-82. For the use of hagiography for contemplative purposes, see especially Christiane Veyrard-Cosmé, ‘Hagiographie du haut moyen âge’, in *Lalies* 15 (1994), pp. 193-225 [This article could not be consulted due to COVID restrictions].

¹⁰⁶ Turner, ‘Allegory in Christian Late Antiquity’, pp. 71-82.

¹⁰⁷ Henri de Lubac, *Exégèse Médiévale : les quatre sens de l’écriture* (4 vols, Paris, 1959-64).

¹⁰⁸ Turner, ‘Allegory in Christian Late Antiquity’, pp. 71-82.

interpreting motifs or ideas in a text in the light of Biblical parallels.¹⁰⁹ Books II and III of Augustine's *De doctrina Christiana* explain how to interpret 'signs' in some depth.¹¹⁰ Although this work is not attested in Brittany, Augustine's work was certainly known in the region and it is likely Breton hagiographers may have read *De doctrina Christiana* or similar tracts by other authors.¹¹¹

Symbolism, often though not always drawn from allegorical readings of Scripture, played a role in the interpretation of a variety of texts, including hagiography. One example is the use of accounts of building work or descriptions of architecture to serve as metaphors for the construction of Christian communities.¹¹² The meaning of these metaphors varied according to context, making the interpretation of medieval texts sometimes highly subjective.¹¹³ This reflects not just a society well-versed in the language of allegory and symbolism, but one in which the act of reading was often a public, indeed a collaborative act, one in which readers and audiences might (depending on context) be called on to debate the interpretation of the text in front of them.¹¹⁴ There will therefore have been multiple potential meanings for each of the hagiographies studied here, varying for different audiences at different times.

Exegesis in hagiographical writing could also take the form of commentaries explicitly comparing a saint to Biblical predecessors, or events in a *vita* to a Biblical precedent. The commentator would then draw out the meaning of a passage with the aid of allegorical interpretations of both the hagiography and the Scriptures. Both Samson's hagiographies contain such exegetical commentaries, while Hincmar of Rheims' *Vita Remigii* is a well-known example from ninth-century Frankia, one in which the commentaries almost overshadow the narrative.¹¹⁵ This form of commentary is particularly informative for the *Vita Maglorii*, whose message the hagiographer explicitly draws out by means of lengthy passages of commentary. This message potentially has political overtones, demonstrating that exegesis could sometimes be put to more immediate and worldly uses.

¹⁰⁹ Turner, *ibid.* cites a number of late antique authors, including Augustine.

¹¹⁰ Books II and III of his *De doctrina Christiana* explain how to interpret 'signs' in some depth, see: R. P. H Green, ed. *De doctrina Christiana* (Oxford, 1996). See also de Lubac, *Exégèse Médiévale*, (vol. 1), pp. 177-87.

¹¹¹ A Breton manuscript copied in Brittany contains a copy of Augustine's *De civitate dei*: Smith, *Province and Empire*, p. 171; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Latin: 2051. Wrdisten also lists Augustine as one of his influences: Poulin, *L'hagiographie bretonne*, p. 414 identifies these texts as *De magistro* and *De civitate Dei*; *Vita Winwaloei*, p. 174.

¹¹² William J. Diebold, 'The New Testament and the Visual Arts in the Carolingian Era, with special reference to the *sapiens architectus* (I Cor. 3. 10), in Celia Chazelle and Burton van Name Edwards, eds. *The Study of the Bible in the Carolingian Era* (Turnhout, 2003), pp. 141-54.

¹¹³ Mary Albieri, "The Sword which you hold in your hand": Alcuin's Exegesis of the Two Swords and the Lay *Miles Christi*', in *ibid.* Chazelle and Edwards, *The Study of the Bible*, pp. 117-32, at p. 121.

¹¹⁴ Peter Dronke, 'Functions of Classical Borrowing in Medieval Latin verse', in R. R. Bolger, ed. *Classical Influences on Medieval European Culture: 500-1500* (Cambridge, 1971), pp. 159-64.

¹¹⁵ Pierre Flobert, ed. and trans. *La vie ancienne de saint Samson de Dol* (Paris, 2002), Bk II, ch. 3-5 and ch. 14, pp. 240-8 and pp. 264-7; B. Krusch and W. Levison, eds. *Vita Remigii episcopi Remensis, auctore Hincmaro*, in *MGH Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum* 3 (Hanover, 1896), pp. 250-341. For the commentaries, see: ch. 5, p. 269, ch. 7, pp. 274-9, ch. 8, pp. 280-5. Hincmar's commentary is particularly extensive, and continues beyond these chapters.

Allusions are less explicit and so less obvious to modern readers. Gregory of Tours in his hagiography of St Martin alluded to Exodus when discussing the saint's travels.¹¹⁶ This allusion was echoed by Venantius Fortunatus in his *Vita Radegundis*.¹¹⁷ In Brittany, the same allusion appears in the VPS, whose author had Samson declare 'I have already left Egypt' – Egypt here refers to his family rather than to Insular Britain.¹¹⁸ Medieval audiences would in the main have appreciated these allegorical references, drawing complex layers of meaning from apparently simple and straightforward pieces of text.

More simply and more clearly to a modern reader, quotations from the Scriptures might serve to highlight the meaning of a passage, variously providing moral instruction, examples of the fulfilment of the Scriptures or perhaps simply an opportunity to express ideas using convenient biblical language.¹¹⁹ Quotations could also serve to create a sub-text. It is widely accepted that audiences well-versed in sacred literature would be expected to comprehend the meaning of a biblical phrase in its original context and to carry this meaning over into its new context in the hagiography.¹²⁰ This double meaning would then help to illustrate the significance of the new passage in which the quotation appeared.

Other sources: narrative forms and similarities

Hagiographies displayed marked similarities. This was partly the result of sharing a common influence, the Scriptures, but this is not the only reason. Even discounting biblical influences, hagiographies often shared a narrative form and set *topoi*, identified and explored first by Hippolyte Delehaye.¹²¹ Delehaye demonstrates that the use of such forms often served to demonstrate a subject's sanctity. Popular hagiographies themselves also came to serve as models for later hagiographers. In the west, Sulpicius' Severus' *Vita Martini* and Gregory the Great's *Dialogues*, which include his *Vita Benedicti*, were secondary, but almost universal sources of inspiration.¹²² This was often perhaps a

¹¹⁶ Gregory of Tours, *Historia Francorum*, Bk IX, ch. 39.

¹¹⁷ Jacques Fontaine, 'Hagiographie et politique de Sulpice Sévère à Venantius Fortunat', in *Revue d'histoire de l'église de France* 168 (1976), pp. 113-40, p. 129; Fortunatus, *De vita sanctae Radegundis*, Bk I, ch. 2.

¹¹⁸ VPS, Bk I, ch. 24, p. 138. See also, Richard Sowerby, 'A family and its saint' in the *Vita Prima Samsonis*, in Lynette Olson, ed. *St Samson of Dol and the Earliest History of Brittany, Cornwall and Wales* (Woodbridge, 2017), pp. 19-36.

¹¹⁹ Van Uytenghe, 'Le remploi dans l'hagiographie', p. 373.

¹²⁰ Neil Wright provides a study of Biblical quotations and their significance in 'Neil Wright, 'Columbanus's Epistulae', in M. Lapidge, ed. *Columbanus: Studies on the Latin Writings* (Woodbridge 1997), pp. 29-92. For broader discussions of hagiography as Biblical exegesis, see: Goulet, *Écriture et Réécriture*, pp. 210-11; Veyrard-Cosmé, 'Hagiographie du haut moyen âge'; Van Uytenghe, 'Le remploi dans l'hagiographie', esp. pp. 373-4.

¹²¹ Hippolyte Delehaye (trans. Donald Attwater) *The legends of the saints* (London, 1962). A brief summary of common *topoi* is available in Goulet, *Écriture et Réécriture*, pp. 213.

¹²² For the influence of both works on hagiography, see: Goulet, *Écriture et Réécriture*, pp. 210-12; For Martin, Goulet also cites Fontaine, 'Hagiographie et politique'. The earliest *Life* of St Geneviève is modelled closely on Sulpicius' *Vita Martini*, with further quotations from the work added in the ninth-century redaction: Joseph-Claude Poulin and Martin Heinzlmann, eds. *Vies anciennes de sainte Geneviève: études critiques* (Paris, 1986), p. 170. Veyrard-Cosmé also highlights the importance of these authors, among others, as inspirations for Alcuin's prose hagiographies: Veyrard-Cosmé, *L'œuvre hagiographique*, pp. 382-95.

means of modelling a subject on a better-known, more idealised saint. It also meant that the lesser-known subject might ‘borrow’ aspects of the model’s authority or sanctity.

Finally, it is worth mentioning that although Sulpicius’ and Gregory’s works were particularly influential, other hagiographies too could provide a template from which later hagiographers could work. Well-known saints might also play ‘bit-parts’ in each others’ hagiographies. In Frankia, a number of Merovingian saints also appear repeatedly in one another’s hagiographies, and in later Frankish hagiographies, forming a ‘social life of hagiography’ linking foundations across Frankia.¹²³ Poulin has noted that although the Breton corpus shares influences from Sulpicius, Gregory and other sources ‘universal’ across the medieval west, it seems to stand apart from this network of Frankish hagiographies. It is influenced by the *Vitae Samsonis*, which perhaps provided a template for the motif of British saints crossing the Channel to Brittany as well as providing inspiration for other, more isolated incidents.¹²⁴

Quotations from hagiography and classical texts

Hagiographers did not only borrow narrative shape or ideas from a predecessor. They also quoted verbatim from earlier sources.¹²⁵ Quotations could be sizeable, even to the extent of being formed of entire chapters copied from earlier hagiographies.¹²⁶ Dolbeau and Van Uytfanghe compared some hagiographies to mosaics, made up of literary *tesserae* in the form of carefully arranged quotations from earlier texts.¹²⁷ Some echoes of earlier texts in contrast were brief in the extreme, and may have resulted from authors repeating well-known phrases without any intention to quote a specific text.¹²⁸

There are perhaps surprisingly few studies of intertextuality as a device for conveying or changing meaning in Carolingian hagiography. Much attention to Carolingian intertextuality has focused primarily on the rewriting of hagiographies to meet new demands and new contexts (see below).

¹²³ Kreiner, *The Social Life of Hagiography* provides a detailed exploration of this phenomenon.

¹²⁴ Poulin, *L’hagiographie bretonne* pp. 53-6 explores intertextuality in Breton hagiography. For the influence of Samson’s *vitae*, see p. 62 and pp. 69-70. Two motifs from the VSS appear in Bili’s work – the motif of the saint’s master blushing in recognition of his pupil’s superior wisdom and the motif of a dove appearing at the saint’s consecration. Compare François Plaine, ed. *Vita antiqua sancti Samsonis Dolensis episcopi* in *Analecta Bollandiana* 6 (1887), pp. 77-150, Bk I, ch. 12, p. 164 with ‘La *Vita Machutis* par Bili’, Bk I, ch. 26, p. 369, then Plaine, *Vita antiqua*, Bk I, ch. 7, p. 90 with ‘La *Vita Machutis* par Bili’, pp. 331-430, Bk, I ch. 14, p. 361 and ch. 42, p. 379. The *Miracula Maglorii*, ch. 5 also borrow details from various accounts of Samson slaying serpents. Compare this to Plaine, ‘*Vita antiqua*’: Bk I, ch. 10, pp. 98-101; Bk I, ch. 17, pp. 109-111; Bk II, ch. 8, pp. 128-30.

¹²⁵ François Kerlouégan made especially detailed studies of quotations in Breton hagiography, see in particular: ‘Les citations d’auteurs latins profanes dans les vies de saints bretonnes carolingiennes’, in *Etudes Celtiques* 18 (1981) pp. 181-95 and ‘Les citations d’auteurs latins chrétiens dans les vies de saints bretons carolingiennes’ in *Etudes Celtiques* 19, (1982), pp. 215-57.

¹²⁶ Dolbeau, ‘Les hagiographes au travail’. See also Van Uytfanghe, ‘Le remploi dans l’hagiographie’.

¹²⁷ Dolbeau, ‘les hagiographes au travail’, p. 56; Uytfanghe, ‘Le remploi dans l’hagiographie’, p. 383.

¹²⁸ For the difficulty of identifying echoes of one work in another, see: Michael Lapidge, *Hilduin of St-Denis: the Passio S. Dionysii in prose and verse* (Leiden, 2017), pp. 178-86; Van Uytfanghe, ‘Le remploi dans l’hagiographie’, p. 378; Van Uytfanghe, ‘Le remploi dans l’hagiographie’, p. 378.

However, studies of intertextuality in the medieval world exist. Clare Stancliffe and Neil Wright have made extensive studies of this more complex type of intertextual borrowing, on Bede's and Columbanus' work respectively.¹²⁹ Neil Wright identified intertextual references to both Christian and classical authors in Merovingian Gaul, in Gregory of Tours' *Histories* and in Columbanus' letters.¹³⁰ Stancliffe provides a comparatively rare study of the intertextual meanings that can be read through larger scale borrowing from earlier hagiographies. She argues that Stephen of Ripon's *Life* of St Wilfrid was written as a riposte to the anonymous *Life* of St Cuthbert, a riposte articulated partly through recognition and manipulation of the anonymous author's source texts, themselves chosen for their intertextual implications, and of the anonymous *Vita Cuthberti* itself. These types of intertextual borrowing relied on a readership able to recognise the source text and draw meaning from the way it was copied and handled in its new context. Stancliffe's study in particular has implications for the use of sub-texts to convey meaning in the early medieval world, since the *Lives* of Wilfrid and Cuthbert relied on their authors and audiences being able to recognise multiple sub-texts and to follow an argument expressed largely in intertextual form. These *Lives* provide a useful parallel for understanding the sub-texts to the *Vita Melanii* in chapter 6 and the *vitae Machutis* in chapter 7.

Shorter quotations too could have their own purposes. François Kerlouégan divided quotations into two categories: those that were 'decorative' and those included for 'moral instruction'.¹³¹ The former perhaps make up the majority of quotations in hagiographies, and need not carry any sub-text at all. These are not however the most interesting of quotations for a study of political history. This study will focus far more on those quotations that may have carried political or religious sub-texts.

Jean Meyers also identified a type of quotation that he called *jeux-érudits* (word plays) in the works of Sedulius Scottus. These were intended to create multiple layers of meaning by calling on audiences' understanding of the quotations' earlier context or contexts, not dissimilar to the hagiographical equivalents noted by Wright and Stancliffe.¹³² A Carolingian example, though not a hagiographical one, is Chrodegang's Rule for Canons, which quotes parts of the Benedictine Rule, this time adapted for canons, rather than monks. Claussen's analysis of this intertextual treatment suggests that the quotations take on new meaning in their new context in the process, arguably partly subverting the meaning of Benedict's original text.¹³³

¹²⁹ Clare Stancliffe, 'Disputed episcopacy: Bede, Acca, and the relationship between Stephen's *Life of Wilfrid* and the early prose Lives of St Cuthbert', in *Anglo-Saxon England* 41 (2012), pp. 7-39 and Neil Wright, 'Columbanus' *Epistulae*', in Michael Lapidge, ed. *Columbanus: Studies on the Latin Writings* (Woodbridge, 1997), pp. 29-92.

¹³⁰ Wright, 'Columbanus' *Epistulae*', p. 38 and pp. 71-83.

¹³¹ Kerlouégan, 'Citations d'auteurs chrétiens', at pp. 254-5.

¹³² Jean Meyers, *L'art de l'emprunt dans la poésie de Sedulius Scottus* (Geneva 1986), p. 158.

¹³³ Claussen, *The Reform of the Frankish Church*, pp. 166-9.

Sub-texts formed of classical sources, especially in quotation form, seem to be less common, but there is at least one example, albeit not involving prose hagiography. As already noted, Jean Meyers argued that quotations could be woven into a work to create a double layer of meaning. He developed this idea from a close study of the poetry of Sedulius Scottus, who seems to have written for both lay and clerical audiences.¹³⁴ Almost overwhelmingly, Sedulius used the Bible or – significantly here – the works of Virgil as sources for quotations. Meyers argues that he did so because he intended the sub-texts to his work to be as widely understood as possible.¹³⁵ In other words, a scholar writing for an elite Carolingian audience could expect that audience to recognise lines of a familiar classical text, and carry the meaning over from the original to the new context. There seems to be little reason why marcher clergy might not also have been able to perform a similar process, particularly where an author used more familiar sources by Christian writers.

Different readers or listeners might comprehend a single text on different levels. Indeed, authors probably wrote with the realisation and even intention that their texts might be understood on multiple levels by different audience members. Van Uytvanghe provides the example of an allusion to John the Baptist in the *Life* of St Arnulf of Metz. Although the quotation develops the meaning of the chapter, it is not necessary to understand the quotation for the passage to make sense.¹³⁶ The work can be read simply for its own sake, but understood on multiple levels once the reader recognises the intertextual references.¹³⁷ Walter Goffart makes a similar argument for much of Jordanes' work.¹³⁸ It is entirely plausible too that intertextual references served quite deliberately as a means of restricting understanding only to those familiar with the source-text. This might for example be a useful way of conveying more controversial messages indirectly, so as not to attract the ire of powerful figures who might take offence.¹³⁹

It is possible to try and ascertain the credibility of a given sub-text by distinguishing how recognisable the quotations that formed it might have been to listeners or readers and, indeed, by asking how coherently they fit with what may have been a hagiographer's message. It is important to bear in mind, however, that medieval ecclesiastical audiences would have been far better able to recognise and comprehend symbolism and allegory than modern readers. Clergy in particular were trained to appreciate texts on multiple levels or to consider them in depth in a process of rumination, making

¹³⁴ Edward Doyle, ed. *Sedulius Scottus: On Christian Rulers and the Poems* (New York, 1983), pp. 26-45 and especially p. 41 for Charles the Bald as Sedulius' patron. 'On Christian Rulers' is designed as a mirror for kings, pp. 52-94, while a number of his poems are addressed to Charles the Bald. Poem 14, addressed to Charles, makes reference to Croesus and Darius, while Poem 20, addressed to Irmingard, wife of Lothar I also makes classical references, this time to Venus.

¹³⁵ Meyers, *L'art de l'emprunt*, p. 114 and p. 158.

¹³⁶ Van Uytvanghe, 'Le remploi dans l'hagiographie', p. 374; Luke 7, 25; B. Krusch, ed. *Vita Arnulfi*, in MGH, SRM II (Hanover, 1888) ch. 21, p. 441.

¹³⁷ Kerschner makes this point in more detail, on the more contemporary subject of James Joyce's *Ulysses*. R. Brandon Kerschner, 'Intertextuality', in Sean Latham, ed. *The Cambridge Companion to Ulysses* (Cambridge 2014), pp. 171-83.

¹³⁸ Goffart, *The Narrators of Barbarian History*, p. 109.

¹³⁹ David Ahl, 'The art of safe criticism in Greece and Rome', *American Journal of Philology* 105 (1984), pp. 174-208.

them still more likely to recognise parallels with or quotations from familiar texts than modern readers.¹⁴⁰ Interpretation of these texts must have been a multi-faceted process at times, given the potential number of ways each text and subtext might be read. I focus intentionally on the various possible political readings of the corpus from north-eastern Brittany, rather than the texts' primary, spiritual meanings.

Logically, the only barrier to a sub-text being effective would be the audience's ability to recognise the borrowed passages. This would vary depending on each audience member's familiarity with the source text, a variable dependent on both the audience's education and the popularity of the texts quoted in any given time and place. As a general remark, it might in theory be expected that better-known texts, such as Gregory's *Dialogues*, Sulpicius Severus' *Vita Martini* or other relatively common works, such as Virgil's *Aeneid*, were recognisable to many clergy and to some lay audiences, too. Lesser known works or entire collections of hagiography might also have been relatively well known within a limited locality or within a single community, Samson's *vitae* providing an obvious example for Brittany.¹⁴¹

Some difficulty arises, however, since it is not always clear if an author selected quotations from an entire literary work, from a *florilegia* containing choice quotations or from heavily abbreviated copies perhaps preserved in liturgical collections.¹⁴² Nonetheless, where a quotation's original context does add substantial new meaning to a hagiography, and especially where this meaning is sustained throughout the text and sub-text, it seems reasonable to surmise that an author may have chosen the quotations he did in order to create a sub-text.

The rewriting of hagiography

A final type of source and a particularly common one might be an earlier hagiography of the hagiographer's subject. Medieval texts were often fluid and were sometimes rewritten to suit new audiences and new contexts.¹⁴³ This was particularly true of hagiographies, which might be copied for

¹⁴⁰ Goulet, *Écriture et Réécriture*, pp. 210-11; Heene, 'Audire, legere, vulgo', considers the various audiences of Carolingian hagiography. See also Veyrard-Cosmé, 'Hagiographie du haut moyen âge'; Turner, 'Allegory in Christian Late Antiquity'.

¹⁴¹ For the possibility that hagiographers became familiar with some of their sources through the liturgy, see: Van Uytfanghe, 'Le remploi dans l'hagiographie'. While works written for monks to ruminant on tended to be in poetic rather than prose form, there seems to be no reason cathedral clergy might not also be familiar with prose texts, especially via liturgical readings, and hence no reason why these too might not have formed sub-texts. For the different forms of hagiography written for different audiences, see: Dolbeau, 'les hagiographes au travail', pp. 62-5 and Heene, 'Audire, legere, vulgo'.

¹⁴² Kerlouégan, 'Citations d'auteurs chrétiens'; For hagiography in liturgical collections, see Lapidge, 'Editing hagiography', esp. pp. 242-8 and Guy Philippart, *Les Légendiers latins et autres manuscrits hagiographiques* (Turnhout, 1977).

¹⁴³ Perhaps the most detailed examination of the process of rewriting hagiography is Monique Goulet, *Écriture et Réécriture hagiographiques: Essai sur les réécritures de Vies de saints dans l'Occident latin médiéval (VIIIe-XIIIe s.)* (Turnhout, 2005). For an overview of the rewriting of specifically Breton hagiography, see: Bernard Merdrignac, 'The

use in various ecclesiastical centres and partially rewritten to suit their new surroundings.¹⁴⁴ Individual copies of hagiographies might therefore be treated as snapshots of a frequently updated dialogue between hagiographers and their audience – whether this audience was formed of wider society or devotees of an individual cult. The term ‘hypotext’ will be used to refer to the earlier or source text for later rewritings. It was coined by Monique Gouillet to mean a source text that a hagiographer later rewrote, in her own words, ‘*texte qui fait l’objet d’une réécriture*’ (a text that is subject to rewriting).¹⁴⁵ As an example in the context of this study, Bili’s *Vita Machutis* served as hypotext for the anonymous *vita brevior Machutis* while the anonymous *vitae brevior Machutis* served as hypotext for the still later *vita longior Machutis*.¹⁴⁶

The line between ‘rewriting’ and mere scribal intervention is necessarily blurred. Some alterations to a ‘rewritten’ text will have been merely scribal or even accidental, resulting merely from the text being copied into new manuscripts.¹⁴⁷ Scribal alterations might include the updating of archaic vocabulary or grammar. They might involve ‘hyper-correction’, the correction of grammatical errors or the amending of quotations to fit a received or correct version of a text. Others might extend the text, perhaps by incorporating glosses or explanatory notes into it. Still others might shorten quotations or omit passages deemed verbose or no longer relevant.¹⁴⁸ These more minor alterations make it possible trace the descent of one copy of a text from another, but can hardly be considered evidence of comprehensive rewriting.¹⁴⁹ The *Vita Melanii* provides a case in point where it quotes from Gregory’s *Dialogues*. In Gregory’s text, quoted in the *Vita Melanii*, the devil jokes to St Benedict that he is a vet, who has ‘gone to see one of your monks to give him a potion’.¹⁵⁰ Confused perhaps by the concept of a vet, Melanius’ hagiographer or perhaps the scribe who wrote manuscript copy of the *Dialogues* that he worked from, has the devil appear somewhat nonsensically in the guise of a bull for the same purpose.¹⁵¹

process and significance of rewriting in Breton hagiography’, in Jane Cartwright, ed. *Celtic Hagiography and Saints’ Cults* (Cardiff, 2003), pp. 177-97.

¹⁴⁴ A detailed overview of this process can be found in: Michael Lapidge, ‘Editing hagiography’, in *La critica del testo mediolatino: atti del Convegno, organizzata dalla Società internazionale per lo studio del medioevo latino, Firenze, 6-8 dicembre 1990* (Spoleto, 1994), pp. 239-58.

¹⁴⁵ See the glossary to Gouillet, *Écriture et Réécritures*, p. 308.

¹⁴⁶ For the relationship between these texts, see: Merdrignac, ‘The Re-writing of Breton hagiography’ and Poulin, *L’hagiographie bretonne*, pp. 142-84.

¹⁴⁷ For a study of scribal variants, albeit in Anglo-Saxon England, see: Michael Lapidge, ‘The Edition, Emendation and Reconstruction of Anglo-Saxon Texts’ in Roberta Frank, ed. *The Politics of Editing Medieval Texts: Papers Given at the Twenty-Seventh Annual Conference on Editorial Problems, University of Toronto, 1-2 November 1991*, (New York, 1993) pp. 131-158.

¹⁴⁸ There are a number of publications discussing the ways texts were amended. See: Lapidge, ‘The Edition, Emendation and Reconstruction of Anglo-Saxon Texts’; Gouillet, *Écriture et Réécritures*, pp. 118-30; Maximilian Diesenberger, ‘How Collections Shape the Texts: Rewriting and Rearranging *Passions* in Carolingian Bavaria’, in M. Heinzlmann, ed. *Livrets, Collections et Textes: Etudes sur la tradition hagiographique latin*, pp. 195-224.

¹⁴⁹ Dolbeau, François, note in *Revue des études augustiniennes* 27 (1981), p. 194.

¹⁵⁰ Adalbert de Vogüë, ed. and Paul Antin, trans. *Grégoire le Grand, Dialogues* vol. 2 (Sources chrétiennes de la Gaule, no. 260, vol II; Paris, 1979) Bk 2, ch. 30, pp. 220-1, in *mulomedici specie...cornu...ferens* (in the form of a vet, (lit. ‘mule-doctor’), carrying a horn).

¹⁵¹ VPM, ch. 4c, line 445, in *specie tauri, habens cornua* (in the form of a bull, with horns).

Other alterations will have been made to ensure that a *Vita* or extracts from it would fit a given form, such as a liturgical collection. This might involve selecting brief passages to be read at the night office. Lapidge and Winterbottom's study of St Dunstan's *vitae* provides a case study of this kind of alteration, albeit one occurring a few generations later, in the tenth century.¹⁵² Bili or a successor may have obtained extracts from a number of Merovingian saints' *Lives* from a liturgical collection at late ninth-century Alet (see chapter 3). Alterations for liturgical collections perhaps give more clues to liturgical needs at the foundation that formed the collection than to any great change within a single cult.¹⁵³

Some changes will have been more extensive. Some were largely stylistic, designed to update a *Vita* whose style had gone out of fashion. The *Vita Prima Melanii* may have been subject to this kind of rewriting relatively soon after it was composed, apparently to suit a monastic audience and to 'correct' the relatively unadorned language of the original.¹⁵⁴ Other forms of 'rewriting' consisted less of abridging or restyling a work than of adding to it, without necessarily changing much of its content, perhaps by adding miracles as they were believed to have occurred. Maglorius' *Miracula post translationem* fall into this category – at least one was added after the collection was supposedly completed, by a different author.¹⁵⁵

Many hagiographies were subject to more comprehensive re-working, affecting much or all of the text on various levels, whether political, stylistic or ecclesiastical. Such wholesale alterations can be used as a measure of changing attitudes and ideals within a cult. Some such changes may have been local, reflecting tensions within a single cult or locality.¹⁵⁶ Others mirrored changes in the wider environment, reflecting social or political developments across western Christendom.¹⁵⁷ They can thus serve to illustrate broader societal changes, not just changes in literary or liturgical form. There are a number of close studies of such *réécritures*, variously revealing individual cults' responses to political or ecclesiastical changes.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵² Michael Winterbottom and Michael Lapidge, eds. *The Early Lives of St Dunstan* (Oxford, 2012). For discussion of the Adalard's division of the *Life* into *lectiones*, see pp. cxxv-cxxxiv and for an edition, see pp. 115-45.

¹⁵³ Lapidge, 'Editing hagiography', esp. pp. 242-8 and Philippart, *Les Légendiers*.

¹⁵⁴ Poulin, *L'hagiographie bretonne*, pp. 249-51.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 218-221.

¹⁵⁶ Richard Sowerby's study of Dol's ambitions provides an example of such changes reflecting the ideals of a single cult: Sowerby, 'The Lives of St Samson'.

¹⁵⁷ Responses to ecclesiastical reform are a common example of broader developments reflected in individual cults, see notes 16 and 17 below.

¹⁵⁸ See in particular: Goulet and Heinzelmann, *La Réécriture hagiographique*; Monique Goulet, Martin Heinzelmann, and Christiane Veyrard-Cosme, eds. *L'hagiographie mérovingienne à travers ses réécritures* (Ostfildern, 2010). Head provides a survey of the rewriting of hagiography in the Carolingian Orléanais, to the east of the Rennes: Head, *Hagiography and the Cult of Saints*, pp. 31-49.

Hagiographies might be rewritten because they did not appear to fit with recent ecclesiastical strictures or ideals. Individual incidents within these *vitae* might be updated to remove new taboos. Studies by Giorgia Vocino and Anne-Marie Helvétius reveal that ecclesiastical reforms in the Carolingian era and in the tenth century led to the removal of animal motifs from a number of Merovingian hagiographies, by hagiographers who now saw those motifs as heretical.¹⁵⁹ Julia Smith's study of Hucbald of Saint-Amand's work reveals a broader illustration of rewriting by a single author in response to ecclesiastical *correctio*.¹⁶⁰

The three studies listed above provide close parallels for the analysis in chapter 5, which uses a close study of the rewriting of Samson's and Machutus' hagiographies to assess levels of change in how pastoral care was presented in bishops' hagiographies in Brittany – an approach not dissimilar to those used by Helvétius, Smith or Vocino. It then uses attitudes to *correctio* as one relatively small measure of increasing Carolingian influence in the region in the later ninth century. It also introduces a comparative element, by comparing developments in Samson's and Machutus' hagiographies with presentations of pastoral care in Paul Aurelian's cult.

Recasting a text for political or cultural reasons might involve changing the emphasis placed on different aspects of its narrative. Jamie Kreiner provides an illustration of this in her study of Alcuin's and Ursinus' rewriting of Vedaast and Léger's cults. Incidents in these Merovingian *vitae* were rewritten to emphasise the saints' roles in creating a Christian kingdom, ruled by a Christian dynasty, with the aim of reflecting, and flattering Frankish self-image.¹⁶¹ This served the dual aim of flattering Carolingian sensibilities and raising the cult's profile at court. In the case of Vedast, Alcuin's association of the saint with the founding of a Christian kingdom also served hugely to promote the cult's importance in the Carolingian realm.¹⁶² Chapter 7 uses a similar comparative approach to the VSS and an abridged version of it copied in the *Vita Maglorii*, this time to analyse a more political purpose, the promotion of Dol's metropolitan claims. The *Vita* provides a similar, though far briefer *réécriture* of Samson's *Life*, rewritten for political reasons, this time to promote the interests of Dol rather than those of a royal patron.

Finally, where the hypotext was a version of a hagiography made at another foundation, the process of rewriting it might too be a form of dialogue not just with the text's purported audience but with the foundation that wrote the initial text, as that foundation's claims and allegiances might be

¹⁵⁹ Anne-Marie Helvétius, 'Réécriture hagiographique et réforme monastique', in Goullet and Heinzelmänn, *La Réécriture Hagiographique*, pp. 195-230; Giorgia Vocino, 'Under the aegis of the saints. Hagiography and power in early Carolingian northern Italy', in *Early Medieval Europe* 22. no. 1, 2014, pp. 26-52.

¹⁶⁰ Julia M.H. Smith, 'La réécriture chez Hucbald de St-Amand', in Goullet, Heinzelmänn, and Veyrard-Cosme, *L'hagiographie mérovingienne*, pp. 271-86 [this article could not be consulted due to COVID restrictions].

¹⁶¹ Kreiner, *The Social Life of Hagiography*, pp. 238-54.

¹⁶² *Ibid.* p. 243 and pp. 259-63.

deconstructed in the later, rewritten document – the ‘hypertext’. This appears to have happened at Saint-Malo, where an anonymous monk rewrote Bili’s *Vita Machutis*, produced perhaps a decade earlier at Alet.¹⁶³ I assess the date of this rewriting and its implications in chapter 7.

The topics of intertextuality and the rewriting of hagiography raise the question of how far a student of hagiography is restricted only to studying the text itself rather than the history behind its creation. It would be unrealistic to take a post-modern approach and study each text as a mere artefact, interesting only for literary examination.¹⁶⁴ After all, the implicit messages authors intended to convey to their audiences had real religious, cultural and political import and it is this that I have set out to explore. It is inevitable however that much of Part II focuses on the texts themselves, simply because there is little information about the foundations that created them, information which would have made it possible to contextualise each hagiography rather more and to draw a more ‘positive’ history from each. However, I have approached each work with the aim of uncovering the political and intellectual currents and ambitions expressed in them, even if at times it is impossible to separate ideal presentations from historical reality, or to know if the ambitions articulated in each work were ever acted upon in the ‘real world’ outside the text.

A note on the Appendices

The hagiographies used here were first edited in the nineteenth century. With the exception of Lot’s full edition of Machutus’ *vitae*, later superseded by an edition by Guénaël Le Duc, each was published in partial form and redacted to leave only the material most of interest to nineteenth-century editors.¹⁶⁵ Details of these editions are provided in Part I, in the chapters dedicated to each collection while fuller details are available in each saint’s entry in Poulin’s *L’hagiographie bretonne*. The appendices to this thesis attempt to overcome the lacunae left by earlier editors by providing editions of Maglorius’ *dossier* and Melanios first two *vitae*.

The appendices here do not just provide new, more ‘complete’ editions. They also mark hagiographers’ sources where they are known, many of which are not marked in older editions. This makes it rather easier perhaps for the readers to view the intertextual patterns the authors created for themselves. This step was necessary as new database technology, whether Brepols cross-database search tool or Google, has made it possible to identify medieval authors’ sources with an ease

¹⁶³ Poulin, *L’hagiographie bretonne*, pp. 170-7.

¹⁶⁴ Positive and post-modern approaches to medieval history are discussed in Spiegel, *The Past as Text*. I make no pretence to fully grasp post-modernism. Pohl: ‘History in Fragments’, pp. 1-10 provides a much briefer and more accessible overview of the implications of these developments for historians.

¹⁶⁵ *Vita Melanii ep. Redonici*, ed. Bruno Krusch, MGH SRM 3 (Hanover, 1896) pp. 370-6; Joseph van Hecke, ‘De S. Maglorio, episcopo Doli in Armorica’, AA SS Oct. X, (1861) pp. 772-93; Arthur le Moine de la Borderie, ‘Miracles de saint Magloire et fondation du monastère de Lehon: Textes inédits, latins, français avec notes et commentaire’, reprinted from *Mémoires Côtes-Du-Nord*, (1890), (Rennes, 1891) pp. 230-338 and for post-translation miracles, pp. 234-6.

impossible much more than a decade ago. I was consequently able to identify a considerable number of new sources for each hagiography examined here and to engage far more than previous scholars of these works with the sub-texts hagiographers intended to create and the messages they intended them to convey.

Because of this emphasis on intertextual patterns, the editions I have created in the appendix aim so far as possible to reflect the earliest state of each text, more than interpolated or rewritten versions of it. This is necessary because the process of interpolating, abridging or rewriting a hagiography must necessarily have disrupted or changed its structure and emphasis and the distribution and type of its source-texts and inspirations. The process of rewriting must intentionally or not have altered any intertextual message a hagiography's earliest author hoped to convey. It is these early interpretations that I study here.

The new source-texts prompt reconsideration of the date and place of writing of each hagiography. Indeed, in the case of Bili's work and Maglorius' hagiography, they prompt reconsideration of authorship and the stages in which each collection or *Life* was written. Part I is dedicated to this reconsideration. It takes each collection in turn, followed by some more minor sources for the march, and considers their date, authorship and place of writing. I hope it may also be of some use to scholars wishing to use the *dossiers* of Machutus, Maglorius and Melanius in future.

Part I

This section is intended to demonstrate the relevance of each hagiographical collection to the study of *correctio* in Brittany and the march. It provides an overview of each collection, its subject, place of writing, manuscript copies and available editions. It also aims to establish the dates at which each collection was written as well as the different stages of authorship.

Chapter 2: Rennes and the *Vitae Melanii*

This chapter demonstrates how and why Melanius' hagiography merits a place in a study of ninth-century Brittany. It first provides an overview of Rennes, explaining why its location and role as a marcher see mean its hagiography is particularly likely to reflect Frankish attitudes to Brittany. It then demonstrates why, of the many copies and redactions of the *Vita Melanii*, only the *Vita Prima* and the first recension of the *Vita Interpolata* are likely to be useful or relevant to this study, based partly on their order of composition and partly on their dating. Although a number of historians have already dated these to ninth-century Rennes, this chapter reconsiders their conclusions in the light of new opinions of one manuscript dating. It also adds new evidence for dating based on the *Life's* sources.

Historical background to Rennes and the march

The patron of Rennes' hagiography promises to provide a 'Frankish' view of the Bretons. Rennes, built at the confluence of the rivers Vilaine and Ille, had always lain some way outside the area of Breton speech.¹ From the sixth century, the city was subject to repeated Breton raids, which were to continue into the ninth century and, as chapter 5 demonstrates, came indirectly to influence Melanius' hagiography.² Until 850, Rennes was part of Frankia and the march. In common with the other marcher counties, it was probably governed largely by its local aristocracy with little direct Merovingian or Carolingian involvement.³ Its bishops may well have doubled as counts of the march during the eighth century. Indeed one bishop of Rennes, perhaps governing in the eighth century, was depicted in the Carolingian era as no more than a local count who had taken over the bishopric and had no right to it.⁴ How far this depiction merely reflected Carolingian desire to denigrate their Merovingian predecessors and emphasise their achievements in reforming the marcher bishoprics is unclear.

In the first half of the ninth century, Breton incursions into the march increased while political developments saw the province's leadership become increasingly centralised and increasingly ambitious. These developments led eventually to Nominoë's capture of Rennes in 849, and ultimately to his son Erispoë's acquisition of the march itself, including Rennes.⁵ The *Vita Melanii* was probably written in the decades before or possibly shortly after this development. The political background

¹ For maps showing both the border before 850 and the areas of Frankish and Breton speech, see: Smith, *Province and Empire*, p. xix and p. xx.

² For references to individual raids, see: Luce Pietri and Jacques Biarne, *Province ecclésiastique de Tours (Lugdunensis Tertia)*: Nancy Gauthier and Jean-Charles Picard, eds. *Topographie chrétienne des cités de la Gaule des origines au milieu du VIIIe siècle, vol 5* (Paris, 1987), p. 63.

³ Smith, *Province and Empire*, pp. 47-9.

⁴ Donatus, *Vita Ermenlandi*, in Bruno Krusch and Wilhelm Levison, eds. MGH SRM 5 (Hanover, 1910), pp. 674-10, ch. 13, p. 699.

⁵ Smith, *Province and Empire*, p. 77-100; *Annals of St-Bertin*, entry for 851, p. 73.

against which the VPM was written was to influence its hagiographer's portrayal of the Bretons as a threat to Rennes' stability.

Melanius was feted as bishop of Rennes. His predecessors, the first of whom is attested in 461, are attested at Frankish church councils until the mid-seventh century, but then largely fade from the historical record until the ninth.⁶ Their activities can be reconstructed only by analogy with marcher bishoprics further east. Under the Merovingian kings, control and indeed defence of the area that was to become the Breton march was delegated largely to its bishops, giving them a secular, indeed quasi-military role. If the see of Rennes was occupied it is likely that its bishops played a similar defensive role. Melanius' hagiography reflects both this defensive role and the relegation of Rennes' bishops to purely spiritual defence of the march. This depiction is explored in chapter 6.

Rennes was physically distant from the Carolingian centre of power in the Rhineland, but this is not a reason to assume that it was removed from the current of Carolingian cultural developments, not least as Carolingian influence was present as far west as Redon and even Landévennec.⁷ The march moreover was dominated by families close to Carolingian centres of power, who might be expected to introduce Carolingian ideals and initiatives to the region.⁸ One such family, the Widonids, had links to churches along the Rhine. This kinship group had links to major reformers and reforming centres. The Widonids of the march were related to Chrodegang, the mid-eighth century reforming bishop of Metz and confidant of Charlemagne and his brother Guntland, abbot of Lorsch, the monastery responsible for the pro-Carolingian *Annals of Lorsch*. The Widonids also made donations to the pro-Carolingian abbeys of Saint-Médard and Fulda.⁹ They probably provided at least one bishop of Rennes, Wernarius, in the 840s although they had been influential in the march for much longer.¹⁰ This link to the eastern reaches of the Empire may be one reason why hagiographies of saints linked to Metz, Arras and Paris are quoted so much more than those linked to the western Empire in the *Vita Melanii*.¹¹ More plausibly, it may also explain why the earliest surviving copy of the *Vita Prima Melanii* was made at the abbey of Reichenau, far from Melanius' only major cult centre at Rennes, but just to the south and east of the Widonid family's centre of power.¹² In the late eighth, early ninth and tenth centuries, a number of the Widonid names are entered in Reichenau's book of confraternity.¹³ Whether a bishop from this family had direct influence over the composition of the

⁶ C. Munier, ed. *Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina CXLVIII: Concilia Galliae 314-506* (Turnhout, 1963), *Concilium Turonense I*, 461, p. 148; Duchesne, *Fastes épiscopaux*, pp. 344-6.

⁷ Quaghebeur, *La Cornouaille*, pp. 25-9; Brett, *The Monks of Redon*, introduction, p. 2.

⁸ Smith, *Province and Empire*, pp. 49-55.

⁹ Wolfgang Metz, 'Miscellen zur Geschichte der Widonen und Salier, vornehmlich in Deutschland', in *Historisches Jahrbuch* (1965), pp. 1-27, p. 4.

¹⁰ Smith, *Province and Empire*, p. 53. The name Wernarius appeared repeatedly in the Widonid family.

¹¹ VPM, all quotations are highlighted.

¹² Karlsruhe Landesbibliothek, Aug. perg. 84, ff. 165r-69v.

¹³ Metz, 'Miscellen zur Geschichte der Widonen', pp. 7-9.

VPM is unclear. The bishop list for Rennes is too incomplete and the date the VPM was composed too uncertain to confirm whether or not there was a link between the two. Nonetheless, their presence at Rennes may be one reason for the strong support for and knowledge of *correctio* in the *Vitae Melanii*.

The historical Melanius

Like his Breton counterpart Samson, the historical Melanius is relatively well-attested and something is known of the role that he and, indirectly, the see of Rennes played in sixth-century Neustria. Surprisingly little of this is reflected directly in his ninth-century hagiography, highlighting perhaps how much this work subjugated historical memory to contemporary ideals. Either Melanius' ninth-century hagiographer was unaware of his reputation in earlier centuries, or chose to ignore it.

Melanius was one of the signatories to the Council of Orléans (511) and was co-signatory with Eustochius of Angers to the *Letter to Lovocat and Catihern*.¹⁴ This was addressed between 506-521 to two members of the Breton clergy and was intended to correct those of their practices that did not conform to Frankish ideals. It is the only surviving evidence that the historical Melanius played a quasi-missionary role to the Bretons beyond the Vilaine. The *Letter* also reveals that differences between Breton and Frankish religious practice existed from an early period and that the Neustrian bishops, including those of Rennes, assumed some responsibility for demanding conformity with Frankish norms.¹⁵ In the century after his death, Melanius was renowned enough to play a bit part in two hagiographical works: Gregory of Tours' *Liber in gloria confessorum* and Venantius Fortunatus' *Vita Paterni*.¹⁶ If Gregory is to be believed, it was over Melanius' tomb that the basilica of Saint-Melaine was built. Little more is known of Melanius and Rennes until the ninth century, when both his renown at Rennes and the presence of his tomb in the city made him the subject of the see's ninth-century hagiography.

Melanius' ninth-century hagiography: content and recensions

Despite his early cult and the survival of documentation both from his lifetime and from the century after his death, Melanius' first *Vita* seems to be a wholly ninth-century creation. Two factors indicate

¹⁴ *Concilia Gallia, Concilium Aurelianense* a. 511, p. 13; Licinius et episcopi alii, *Epistola ad Louocatam et Catihernum presbyteros*, in *Archive of Celtic Latin Literature*, (Brepols, Turnhout, 2017) p. 527.

¹⁵ The letter is briefly discussed in Clare Stancliffe, 'Christianity among the Britons, Dalriadan Irish and Picts', in Paul Fouracre and Rosamond McKitterick, ed. *The New Cambridge Medieval History: vol. 1, c. 500-700* (Cambridge, 2005), pp. 426-61, pp. 442-3.

¹⁶ Gregory of Tours, *Liber in gloria confessorum*, ed. Bruno Krusch, MGH SRM I, (Hanover, 1885), pp. 34-111, at ch. 54, pp. 779-80; Venantius Fortunatus, *Vita Paterni ep. Abricensis*, ed. Bruno Krusch, MGH *Auct. Ant.* 4, 2 (Berlin, 1885), ch. 46, pp. 33-7, at pp. 36-7.

this quite strongly. The first is its reliance on earlier sources not linked to Melanius, mainly hagiographies of other saints.¹⁷ The only exception is the reference to the *Acta* of the Council of Orléans, which list Melanius as an attendee and which make a brief appearance in chapter 4.¹⁸ This suggests the ninth-century author was unable, or perhaps unwilling, to base a substantial part of his work on any earlier *Life*. Quite possibly, none existed.¹⁹ The *Vita Melanii* can be divided into roughly 20 sections, of which only five (chapters 4. e, f, g, jj, k and 5) lack an identified written source.²⁰ Secondly, the *Life* has a broad thematic and structural unity that almost has to result from a single author's efforts, even if here the act of 'authorship' sometimes amounts to that of an editor creating a pastiche (see chapter 6). This structural unity served a clear political purpose, one particularly salient in the earlier ninth century (see chapter 5). The *Life*'s sources, language, sub-text and overarching narrative therefore form a useful reflection of the literary culture and political priorities of the ninth-century Breton march.

Melanius' hagiographies, (excluding brief references to him in the Merovingian works mentioned above), all take the *Vita Prima Melanii* as their hypotext. These hagiographies are:-

- The *Vita Prima* (recension 1, BHL 5887)
- The *Vita Prima* (recension 2, BHL, 5888)
- The *Vita Interpolata* (5 recensions, BHL 5889-90)
- The *Vita Secunda* (BHL, 5891)

The *Vita Secunda* and *Vita Interpolata* are each quite independent rewritings of the *Vita Prima*.²¹ Of these, only the *Vita Prima*, recension 1 and the *Vita Interpolata*, recension 1 can be dated, confidently, to the ninth century.

The *Vita Prima Melanii* (VPM)

The BHL gives this work two recensions (BHL 5887-8), although the difference between the two amounts to the alteration of one or two sentences, some changes in word order and the shortening of some quotations.²² The earlier of the two recensions survives in a single, late tenth-century

¹⁷ For discussion of some sources, see: Poulin, *L'hagiographie bretonne*, pp. 242-3, as well as footnotes in Appendix A.

¹⁸ VPM, ch. 4a; *Concilia Galliae, Concilium Aurelianense* a. 511, p. 13.

¹⁹ Pierre Riché believed that the *Life* was based on a *Vita Primigenia* but Poulin rightly observes that there is little evidence to support this: Jean Delumeau, ed. *Documents de l'histoire de Bretagne* (Toulouse, 1971), p. 76; Poulin, *L'hagiographie bretonne*, p. 243.

²⁰ VPM, chapters 4e, 4f, 4g, 4jj, 4k and 5.

²¹ For the descent of each from their hypotext, see respectively: Poulin, *L'hagiographie bretonne*, pp. 246-51 and pp. 251-7.

²² For editions showing both recensions, see: Krusch, ed. *Vita Melanii ep. Redonici*, pp. 370-6 and Elodie Bonnaire, *La Vita Prima Melanii: approche historique de la transmission du texte: introduction critique et édition*, Master's thesis, University

manuscript, Karlsruhe Landesbibliothek Aug. perg. 84, ff. 165r-169v.²³ This was clearly produced away from Brittany, since the scribe was confused by the Breton place named *Placio*.²⁴ Moreover, the hand that copied it has been located to Reichenau, where the manuscript was almost certainly created.²⁵ That this is the earliest recension has been determined by François Dolbeau, who argued that it preserves quotations better than the later recensions, and by Elodie Bonnaire, who created a detailed stemma and illustration of the text's descent in her master's thesis.²⁶

The second recension of the VPM survives in multiple copies, transmitted solely via a family of legendaries from northern France, known as the *Liber de Natalitiis*. The *Liber de Natalitiis* only came into being in the eleventh century, making it uncertain whether the second recension of the VPM resulted from eleventh-century interventions made at the compilation stage, or whether it was made at earlier stages and was already present in the compiler's source.²⁷

It has been demonstrated by Joseph-Claude Poulin that the *Vita Interpolata* developed from the *Vita Melanii*, recension one, deviating from it perhaps early as the late ninth century.²⁸ Both the descent of the *Vita Interpolata* from recension one and the creation of the *Liber de Natalitiis* only in the eleventh century suggests that the second recension may well be an eleventh-century creation linked to the *Liber de Natalitiis*. The edition in Appendix A is therefore based on the Karlsruhe copy, and Part II refers to this edition.

Dating the VPM

A robust *terminus post quem* of c. 800 is provided by the prologue, which quotes from the prologue to Alcuin's *Vita Vedastis*, written between 794 and 804.²⁹ A *terminus ante quem* of c. 850 was previously created from Wilmart's dating of the manuscript containing the first recension of the VPM's earliest known descendent, the *Vita Interpolata*. This is Vatican, BAV, Vat. Lat. Reg. 486, ff. 54-36 (see discussion of the *Vita Interpolata* below), dated to the second half of the ninth century by André Wilmart.³⁰ Since the *Vita Prima* predates the *Vita Interpolata*, Bonnaire and Poulin concluded

of Rennes (2012), pp. 153-80. For the classification of the *Vita Prima Melanii* into two recensions, see Krusch, *Vita Melanii*, p. 371.

²³ Poulin, *L'hagiographie bretonne*, p. 240.

²⁴ See VPM, note 38.

²⁵ Hartmut Hoffman, 'Echte und nachgeahmte Fuldaer Schrift aus ottonischer und frühsalischer Zeit', in Gangolf Schrimpf ed. *Kloster Fulda in der Welt der Karolinger und Ottonen* (Frankfurt, 1996), pp. 285-97.

²⁶ François Dolbeau, in an untitled note in *Revue des études augustiennes* 27 (1981), p. 194; Bonnaire, 'La *Vita Prima*', pp. 146-9.

²⁷ François Dolbeau, 'Notes sur la genèse et sur la diffusion du *Liber de natalitiis*' in *Revue d'histoire des textes* 6, 1978, pp. 143-95.

²⁸ Poulin, *L'hagiographie bretonne*, pp. 256-7.

²⁹ For the quotation, see: VPM, ch. 2, p. 2; borrowing identified by Krusch: *Vita Melanii*, p. 372.

³⁰ André Wilmart, *Biblioteca Vaticana. Codices Reginenses Latini*, II-Codices 251-500 (Vatican, 1945), p. 675. The manuscript is omitted from Bischoff's list of ninth-century manuscripts, suggesting that Bischoff too doubted the ninth-

that it must have been written in the first half of the ninth century.³¹ Modern palaeographers disagree with this manuscript dating, however, and an approximate late tenth- to early eleventh-century date is now preferred.³² This creates a much later *terminus ante quem* of c. 950, and even this depends on the as yet uncertain late tenth-century dating for Reg. lat. 486.

Fortunately, there are methods of dating a text beyond its manuscript context. These point to composition no later than the early tenth century and probably closer to the middle of the ninth. The first is the text's vocabulary. Bernard Merdrignac argued that some vocabulary in the VPM and earlier redactions of the *Vita Interpolata*, particularly the title *domnus* and the use of the term *parrochia* to mean diocese, had fallen out of use by the early tenth century. Consequently, Merdrignac argued, the VPM must have dated to no later than the early tenth century.³³ This argument is not water-tight. After all, an author writing later might have used deliberate archaisms, but it is persuasive in the light of other evidence for a ninth-century dating.

The idea that the VPM dates from no later than the early tenth century is supported by the probable use of a version of the *Vita* as a source for an anonymous poem in honour of Germanus of Paris, written probably in late ninth- or early tenth-century Paris.³⁴ The poem echoes a passage in the *Vita Melanii*, in which St Marsus refuses to partake of the *caritas* (a piece of bread that has been blessed by a priest) at Quadregesima, just before Lent. The bread turns into a serpent, which encircles Marsus' waist until Melanius miraculously sets him free. In the poem to Germanus, Melanius receives this same punishment at Quadregesima and Germanus frees him. It is not possible to say with confidence which work was written first. However, the poem's mockery of Melanius suggests its author was aware of the miracle in Melanius' hagiography, perhaps indicating that the *Vita Melanii* was the source for the poem, rather than vice versa. This poem, *De praetermissis miraculis sancti Germani*, appears in a tenth-century manuscript containing material linked to the cult of St Germanus, to Odo (count of Paris and king of west Frankia from 888-98) and to Odo's ally and relative

century dating: Bernhard Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts (mit Ausnahme der wisigotischen)*, 4 vols. (Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 1998-2017).

³¹ Poulin, *L'hagiographie bretonne*, pp. 344-5.

³² With thanks to Colleen Curran, Ana Dias, Richard Gameson, Sarah Gilbert and Christine Voth for their views. These scholars suggest dates between c. 960 and c. 1125 (the datings suggested are: Curran: mid-tenth century; Dias: mid-tenth century; Gameson: first quarter of the eleventh century. Sarah Gilbert very tentatively suggested the manuscript resembled manuscripts of c. 950-1025 and Christine Voth suggested it resembled English mss of the late tenth century. Since Richard Gameson suggested the manuscript is continental and since a continental origin is suggested by its content, it seems that a dating around the middle or second half of the tenth century is most likely. Before this correspondence took place, Elodie Bonnaire for her 2008 master's thesis corresponded with a number of French palaeographers, some of whom concluded the manuscript was probably written at eleventh-century Lérins, although Bonnaire rejected this view in favour of Wilmart's ninth-century dating (see Bonnaire, *La Vita Prima*, pp. 66-70 for references). The consensus among French scholars mirrors Gameson's dating of the early eleventh century.

³³ Bernard Merdrignac, 'L'évolution d'un cliché hagiographique: Saint-Melaine, Saint-Mars et l'eulogie métamorphosée en serpent', *Annales de Bretagne et de Pays de l'Ouest* 87, no. 4 (Rennes, 1980), pp. 589-605. Merdrignac gives the examples of the honorific *domnus* and the use of *parrochia* to mean diocese rather than parish.

³⁴ Paul von Winterfeld, ed. *Poetae Latinae 4* (Berlin, 1899), pp. 130-2, lines 6-14 and VPM, ch. 4m, lines 119-25.

Gauzlin.³⁵ The *De praetermissis miraculis* follow Venantius Fortunatus' verse *Life* of the saint and both are sandwiched between dedications to 'king' Odo.³⁶ It is unfortunately unclear whether Odo was still living when the poem was written, though if the dedications are contemporary with the poem, he almost certainly was. If so, and if the VPM was the direct source for the poem, then the VPM can hardly have arrived in Paris later than c. 880 and must therefore have been written before this date. Even if it was composed later, the tenth-century dating for the (now untraceable) manuscript of the *De praetermissis miraculis* suggests it cannot have been written much later than the middle of that century.³⁷ This evidence makes it reasonably likely that the VPM was in being by the early tenth century and possibly by c. 880.

That the VPM was in fact written in the early or mid-ninth century perhaps between c. 830 and c. 875 is suggested by a number of additional factors. Some have already been identified and I propose others for the first time here. Most are circumstantial and relate to political or cultural characteristics of the *Vita*. Over a century ago, Bruno Krusch suggested that the author's preoccupation with the Vannetais and the location of a large part of the narrative to the diocese of Vannes was a protest over the possible loss of Melanius' birthplace, the *plebicula* of Placio.³⁸ If Krusch was correct, this would suggest composition in the decades after 834, when *Placio* (now known as Brains) was first granted to Redon in the Vannetais and presumably away from the diocese of Rennes. There is circumstantial evidence to support Krusch's suggestion. First, the gift of *Placio* to Redon was almost certainly contested, since Brains was granted to Redon three times.³⁹ It is unknown who contested the grant, but Rennes' evident interest in *Placio* makes its clergy a likely contender. Second, the surrounding area, where the diocesan borders of Alet, Rennes, Nantes and Vannes meet, was subject to some reorganisation during the ninth century, making competition between these dioceses over land a distinct possibility.⁴⁰ Indeed, it is possible the boundary between the four was still fluid when the VPM was written.

³⁵ For Gauzlin's brief epitaph, see: von Winterfeld, *Poetae* 4, p. 136. For links between Gauzlin and Odo and Abbo's association with St Germanus, see: Simon MacLean, *Kingship and Politics in the Late Ninth Century: Charles the Fat and the End of the Carolingian Empire* (Cambridge, 2003) pp. 48-66.

³⁶ Winterfeld, *Poetae* 4, p. 124 and p. 132.

³⁷ Winterfeld (p. 123) lists the manuscript as University Library, Bonn, 1702, but this proved difficult to trace. Collections of verse commemorating Odo and also in honour of St Germanus were composed by Abbo of St-Germain-des-Près between c. 890 and the 930s, were preserved in a separate collection and edited by Winterfeld, *Poetae Latinae*, pp. 72-122. Although *De praetermissis miraculis* is anonymous and contained in a different manuscript to these works, its focus on Germanus and dedications to Odo allow for the possibility that it was linked to Abbo or his collections. If so, then an early tenth century date is also possible.

³⁸ Krusch, *Vita Melanii*, p. 370.

³⁹ *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Redon en Bretagne*, ed. Aurélien de Courson, (Paris, 1863), Appendix, ch. 6, p. 355, dated to November 834, ch. 9, p. 357, dated to August 836 and ch. 44, p. 371, dated to March 857.

⁴⁰ Anne Lunven, 'Le pouvoir épiscopal en haute Bretagne avant le XIIe siècle et ses variations: évêchés de Vannes, Alet/Saint-Malo, Dol, Rennes et Nantes', *Bulletin et Mémoires de la Société Archéologique et Historique d'Ille-et-Vilaine* 118 (2014), pp. 113-38.

A different reading of the *Vita*'s preoccupation with the Vannetais also indicates composition closer to the middle of the ninth century than to 800. If its hostility to the Bretons of the Vannetais was motivated by 'national' rather than local politics and resentment of Breton insurrection, then this too might indicate composition around the middle of the ninth century. Vannes was a Frankish stronghold in the early years of the century and the VPM's depiction of its people as rebellious and violent conflicts with what is known of its leaders' political loyalty to Frankia during the early years of the ninth century.⁴¹ Nominoë's rebellions of the 830s and late 840s, or even Breton rule in the Rennes after 850, make a much better context for the work's hostility to the Vannetais, not least as Nominoë himself seems to have come from the Vannetais and indeed may have been count of Vannes.⁴²

Cultural influences in the VPM point to a date of writing no later than the middle of the ninth century and to one loosely speaking around the second quarter of that century. The VPM demonises the Bretons as improper Christians and paints the Franks as virtuous by contrast. This was a typically Frankish attitude towards the Bretons, but one that intensified during Louis the Pious' reign and continued into that of his son Charles the Bald.⁴³

There is further evidence that the VPM was composed no later than the middle of the century, besides the *Life*'s appearance in the poem dedicated to Germanus of Paris. Previous generations of historians argued variously that the VPM must have been written before the relics of St Melanius were allegedly removed to Bourges in 853, before a Viking attack on Rennes cathedral in 875, before the monks' possible flight to Preuilly-sur-Claise in 920, or before the mid 920s when a chest of coins was buried beneath the south wall of the abbey of Saint-Melaine, indicating the monks may have fled from the abbey.⁴⁴

This approach to dating the work using its lack of reference to Norse attacks has some value but presents a number of difficulties. First, it takes the VPM author's assertion that the relics remained in Rennes at face value. Second, evidence for the relics' removal is clearly contradictory. Evidence for removal to Bourges in 853 rests on a claim made by Lobineau in the eighteenth century.⁴⁵ Lobineau did not provide a reference for his claim and no later historian has found any source to confirm it, although the date of 853, just a few years after the acquisitive Nominoë gained control of Rennes is

⁴¹ For Carolingian reliance on the county of Vannes, see: Smith, *Province and Empire*, pp. 74-7.

⁴² Smith, *Province and Empire*, p. 84 and pp. 129-31.

⁴³ Smith, 'Confronting Identities', esp. p. 179; Smith, *Province and Empire*, pp. 62-7; McKitterick *The Frankish kingdoms*, pp. 109-24. Ermoldus Nigellus, *Carmen in honorem Hludowici*, ed. Ernst Dummler, MGH SS rer. *Poetae latini aevi carolini* II (Berlin, 1884), pp. 5-79, Bk III, p. 42, vs. 43; *Chronique de Nantes*, pp. 51-7.

⁴⁴ Dominique Aupest-Conduché, 'Deux formes divergentes de la sainteté épiscopale au VIe siècle: Saint Félix de Nantes et saint Melaine de Rennes', in *CTHS Actes du 99e congrès national des Sociétés savantes: Section 1 La piété populaire au moyen âge*, (Besançon 1974) pp. 117-28; François Plaine, 'Etude comparative des trois anciennes Vies latines de saint Melaine, évêque de Rennes', *Revue historique de l'Ouest* 8 (1892), pp. 74-88, p. 77; Bonnaire, p. 40.

⁴⁵ Dom. Guy-Alexis Lobineau, *Les vies des saints de Bretagne et de personnes d'une éminente piété qui ont vécu dans la même province avec une addition d'une histoire de Bretagne* (Rennes, 1725), p. 38.

convincing, if ultimately impossible to substantiate.⁴⁶ Plaine's suggestion of 875 is also circumstantially convincing, but although his source, Regino of Prüm, records a raid on the cathedral, he makes no reference either to a relic theft or to clerics fleeing Rennes.⁴⁷ The claim of a departure to Preuilly is similarly dubious, while using the burial of treasure near the abbey as a cut off point for the work's composition is equally circumstantial.⁴⁸ These arguments are complicated still further by doubts over whether or not the clergy of Rennes ever fled with the relics at all.⁴⁹ However, these arguments, as well as the absence of references to Norse raids in Melanius' first hagiography, provide a subjective impression that the VPM may well have been written before the increasing disruption of the later ninth and earlier tenth centuries set in.

The author's sources themselves also hint at composition in the early or mid-ninth century. The VPM's author borrowed heavily from other hagiographies, so much so that it seems the VPM is unlikely to have been written many decades after its latest source, in this case Alcuin's *Vita Vedastis* which, as noted earlier, provides a *terminus post quem* of c. 800.⁵⁰ A *terminus ante quem* created on this basis is necessarily subjective, but it seems a reasonable if again rather subjective basis to argue for composition not much later than the middle of the ninth century.

Anne Lunven argues in a brief note that the *Vita Melanii* may have been written to emphasise the bishop of Rennes' loyalty to Carolingian power after the Rennais fell under Breton rule. She notes the veiled nature of its criticism of Brittany and the Bretons and suggests that it was written to emphasise the see's support of Carolingian rule after the Rennais (though technically not its bishops) fell under Breton control.⁵¹ This point is plausible, although not conclusive. However, Lunven in fact argues that the VPM was written not after Rennes fell to Brittany (851), but after the Avranchin to the north had also fallen under Salomon's rule (in 867). She bases this argument on the fact that it depicts Melanius in the company of four bishops whose sees fell at least partly under Breton rule after 867 (the bishops of Angers, Le Mans, Nantes and Coutances).⁵² This later dating is not implausible, but neither is it necessary, since there are other plausible explanations for the company Melanius keeps in the *Vita*.

⁴⁶ For transfer of control to Brittany, see: *Annals of Saint-Bertin*, entry for 851, p. 73.

⁴⁷ *Regino Prumiensis, Chronicon*, ed. F. Kurze, MGH SRG 50 (Hanover, 1890) Bk II, a. 874, p. 107.

⁴⁸ J. Lafuries, 'Deux trésors monétaires carolingiens: Saumeray (Eure-et-Loir) et Rennes (Ille-et-Vilaine)', *Revue numismatique* (Paris, 1965) pp. 262-309, p. 263. For the possible flight to Preuilly-sur-Claise, see: B. Derfages, ed. *Val de Loire roman et Touraine romane*, (Saint-Léger-Vauban, 1965), pp. 50-1. Dominique Allios notes that the monastery at Preuilly was founded only around 1000 AD, which sheds some doubt on the idea that the clergy of Rennes fled there in 920, although it does not disprove the claim: 'Contre l'art roman Breton: l'église de Saint-Melaine de Rennes', in Rosa Alcoy, Dominique Allios, Maria Alessandra Bilotta et al. eds. *Le Plaisir de l'art au moyen âge, commande, publication et réception de l'œuvre de l'art: Mélanges en hommage à Xavier Barral I Altet* (Paris, 2012), pp. 434-40.

⁴⁹ Florian Mazel, 'Entre mémoire carolingienne et réforme 'grégorienne': Stratégies discursives, identité monastique et enjeux de pouvoir à Redon aux XIe et XIIe siècles', *Annales de Bretagne et des pays de l'ouest* vol. 122-1, (Rennes, 2015), pp. 7-39.

⁵⁰ See the edition of the VPM in Appendix A for the quotations.

⁵¹ Lunven, 'Le pouvoir épiscopal', p. 128, note 55.

⁵² VPM, ch. 4m.

The VPM depicts Melanius as a marcher bishop, so its depiction of him in the company of other marcher bishops might therefore simply reflect this role, and need not imply that every bishopric mentioned was necessarily under Breton rule when the VPM was composed. Composition after 867 also seems unlikely because the work's vocabulary and sources as well as the lack of any references to Viking aggression point to a date closer to the middle rather than the end of the ninth century.

Finally, the presence of a copy of the VPM at Reichenau might help to date its composition to no later than the middle of the century. Reichenau has no obvious link to Rennes or Melanius except for its links to the Widonids. This family were most influential in the march and at Rennes during the first two thirds of the ninth century. The last Widonid bishop of Rennes left office around the early 860s.⁵³ Indeed, the family's interests as a whole seem to have moved away from the march towards more easterly regions of the Empire still earlier, from the late 840s.⁵⁴ If a copy of the *Vita Prima* arrived at Reichenau via this family, and this seems the most likely route by which it could have done so, then it probably came into the family's hands while they still had connections at Rennes. This would suggest that the text was already in being when they departed the region around the 860s. With the exception of the *terminus post quem* created by the borrowing from Alcuin's *Vita Vedastis*, the evidence for dating the VPM is imperfect or relatively subjective. It all however points to a date of writing no later than the early tenth century and in all probability during the middle decades of the ninth, the very point when Nominoë, Erispoë and Salomon encroached most on the Breton march.

Where was the VPM written?

The most obvious, and most likely location for the VPM's composition would be Melanius' main cult centre at Rennes. Despite the links between the bishops and counts of Rennes and centres of learning further east, there is little reason to believe the work was composed away from Rennes. The focus on the Rennais and its borders make this unlikely. The work's fairly simple style and the lack of more linguistically sophisticated classical influences disbar composition at any of the grand abbeys in the east – Lorsch, Reichenau or Fulda – to which the Widonids were linked.

As Bonnaire has already observed, the idea that the VPM was composed at Rennes is supported by the VPM's geographical focus.⁵⁵ The narrative constantly moves Melanius between the counties of Rennes and Vannes, which suggests the work was written on or near the border between the two. Moreover, the work also claims Comblessac for the clergy of Rennes, indicating an interest in Rennes' property rights that again makes either the cathedral or the abbey the most likely place of

⁵³ Duchesne, *Fastes*, p. 346.

⁵⁴ McKitterick, *The Frankish Kingdoms*, p. 266.

⁵⁵ Bonnaire, 'La *Vita Prima*', pp. 42-5.

composition.⁵⁶ Although there has been some dispute as to which, the cathedral seems by far the most likely. Chédeville favoured the abbey, citing the use of monastic rather than episcopal hagiographies as sources and the frequent depiction of Melanius in the company of monks.⁵⁷ However, this study has uncovered a number of new sources that redress the balance between monastic and episcopal sources.⁵⁸ Poulin moreover favours composition at the cathedral, on account of the work's emphasis on pastoral care.⁵⁹

The *Vita Melanii Interpolata* (VI)

The name *Vita Interpolata* is misleading, referring not to a single recension, but to five cumulatively interpolated adaptations of BHL 5887, each surviving in a single manuscript copy.⁶⁰ Each of these five versions represents a new, successively rewritten and interpolated recension. The five texts of the *Vita Interpolata*, as a rewriting or series of rewritings, offer a valuable means of viewing how Melanius' presentation in his hagiography, and through it the ideals and interests of his cult at Rennes, changed in the decades following composition of the VPM.

Vita Interpolata: recension 1

It is difficult to date the various recensions of the *Vita Interpolata* precisely. Poulin dated the first recension to the second half of the ninth century, but this dating was based on Wilmart's erroneous dating of the sole manuscript that contains recension 1, Reg. lat. 486, which dates from no earlier than the mid tenth century (see below). This calls for new means of dating the text, based on its language, content and relationship to its descendants. The VPM provides a *terminus post quem* of the middle of the ninth century. A *terminus ante quem* of the mid eleventh century can be taken from a verse in praise of Melanius based on one of the fuller redactions written in the middle of the eleventh century.⁶¹ There are therefore five cumulative stages of writing, made within a two-hundred year period. Which, if any, cast light on ninth-century Rennes and its environs?

⁵⁶ VPM, ch. 5, p. 8 Krusch suggested that the VPM may have been written partly to assert Rennes' claims to land in the Vannetais, including Placio, but there is little further evidence to suggest this: Krusch, *Vita Melanii*, pp. 370-1; Poulin, *L'hagiographie bretonne*, p. 244.

⁵⁷ Bonnaire, 'La *Vita Prima*', p. 45-7; André Chédeville, 'Un évêque "Martinien" au temps de Clovis: saint Melaine de Rennes', *Mémoires de la société archéologique de Touraine, XVII^e centenaire de la mort de Saint Martin, Société archéologique de Touraine* 63 (1997), pp. 229-240 p. 231.

⁵⁸ Chiefly the *Acta Andreae*, but also the *Lives* of saints Lambert of Maastricht/Liège, Germanus of Paris and Genesisius of Arles (see Appendix A for details of borrowed passages).

⁵⁹ Poulin, *L'hagiographe bretonne*, p. 245; For instances of Melanius engaging in pastoral care, see: VPM, ch. 2; ch 3, lines 23-25; ch. 4b, lines 39-42; 4e, line 65. He is also referred to as a *sacerdos* (priest), ch. 4g, line 84 and anoints a woman *more sacerdotali* (in the manner of a priest), ch. 4e, line 73.

⁶⁰ Poulin, *L'hagiographie bretonne*, pp. 251-4.

⁶¹ François Dolbeau, 'Fragments métriques consacrés à s. Melaine de Rennes', *Analecta Bollandiana* 93 (1975), pp. 115-25.

Although no detailed order of descent has yet been established, it is clear that the copy preserved in the Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 486, ff. 54-36 makes fewest changes to its hypotext and so represents the earliest surviving stage of interpolation.⁶² This recension might quite conceivably have been written within the time frame chosen for this study, not least as the changes it makes to its hypotext are relatively limited. This version slightly rephrases parts of the VPM and adds two brief episodes towards the end of the work: a funeral procession for Melanius and a miracle in which a woman is cured of blindness by touching his relics.⁶³ These could quite easily represent brief, ninth-century additions to the VPM. The more extensive changes to its successors probably represent correspondingly greater change at Rennes (or other centres) and a greater passage of time since their hypotext the VPM was written. Additionally, it seems unlikely that the later, more developed and interpolated redactions could have been achieved by the early tenth century if only because this leaves little time for the *Vita Interpolata* to be rewritten quite so many times.

This argument is of course speculative. More convincingly perhaps, there is linguistic evidence to suggest the later recensions, but not the earliest, were produced after the early tenth century. In particular, all four later recensions introduce the *parrochia* to mean parish, distinct from diocese, replacing earlier terms such as *villa*.⁶⁴ This suggests that the ninth-century vocabulary of earlier recensions sounded archaic to later redactors' ears. The only recension not to make such linguistic changes is the earliest, Vatican copy. This does not prove that it was created in or before the early tenth century, but it does make this a distinct possibility.

Finally, although palaeographers disagree on the dating of Vatican, BAV Reg. lat. 486, their various datings cover a period from the mid tenth to the early eleventh century.⁶⁵ Moreover, these datings tend to favour the second half of the tenth century, meaning the text it contains probably dates to before c. 950. This provides enough reason to believe that *Vita Interpolata* 1 was in being by the early tenth century for the work to merit some consideration in the thesis, even if this dating remains subjective. An edition based on the sole manuscript Reg. lat. 486 is provided in Appendix B.

Vita Interpolata 1 was probably composed at Rennes. It adds a funeral procession from Placio to Rennes, ending in the city itself with the cure of a blind woman from 'beyond the Vilaine', who subsequently leaves land to Melanius.⁶⁶ This of course reflects an interest both in the city and in

⁶² Poulin, *L'hagiographie bretonne*, pp. 256-7.

⁶³ *Vita Interpolata* 1, ch. 7 and 7b. See also Poulin *L'hagiographie bretonne*, pp. 256-7 for changes the successive redactors of the *Vita Interpolata* made to their hypotexts.

⁶⁴ Poulin *L'hagiographie bretonne*, pp. 256-7.

⁶⁵ See note 14 above.

⁶⁶ *Vita Interpolata* 1, ch. 7 and 7a.

Melanius' cult. These local details suggest that the first recension of the *Vita Interpolata* was made in Rennes.

Discarded material

The four later recensions of the *Vita Interpolata*, whose vocabulary and greater level of interpolation suggest they were written at much later dates than the first are unlikely to be of great use for the study of Rennes specifically in the ninth century. This study will also, with some reluctance, discard the *Vita Secunda Melanii*. This takes the VPM, not the *Vita Interpolata* as its hypotext, and so may date from as early as the middle of the ninth century. However, it could equally date from as late as the mid-eleventh century, the date of its earliest manuscript.⁶⁷ Since it is unedited and little studied, it is impossible at this point to ascertain its exact date and so it cannot be treated with confidence as a reflection of the culture and politics of ninth-century Rennes.

The VPM and *Vita Interpolata* were both produced on the ninth-century Breton march, the first perhaps around the second quarter of the ninth century or not long after and the second perhaps only a few decades later. All are markedly Frankish in inspiration. All their sources are taken either from Frankish hagiographies or from texts such as Gregory's *Dialogues* that were almost ubiquitous in the churches of the early medieval west. They contain none of the oral, Insular or Breton influences apparent in the Breton hagiographical corpus, to which I will now turn.

⁶⁷ For discussion of its dating and descent from the VPM, see: Poulin, *L'hagiographie bretonne*, pp. 246-51.

Chapter 3: Alet, Saint-Malo and the *Vitae Machutis*

Machutus has three near-contemporary *Lives*, written in the later ninth century. One was written at the cathedral of Alet, the other two at the nearby monastery of Saint-Malo. In the early ninth century, at least one of Alet's bishops was also abbot of Saint-Méen.¹ Hints in Bili's *Life* suggest the bishops of Alet may also have governed the monasteries of Saint-Malo (see chapter 7). This shared past may have given rise to rivalry between the cathedral and monastic communities as the influence of *correctio* promoted the separation of cathedral and monastic clergy. This rivalry may well explain the creation of two substantially different *vitae* (the anonymous one was later amplified to form the third) at two nearby communities within the space of, perhaps, no more than a decade. Although both Bili's and the anonymous *vitae* are similar in content, since the anonymous *Lives* are based on a *Life* written by Bili of Alet, they give subtly different presentations of their subject, Machutus. These presentations reveal much about the implementation of *correctio* in the diocese as well as the differing political loyalties of each community.

Historical background to the diocese of Alet and the monastery of Saint-Malo

From the Roman era, the city of Saint-Malo (then the *civitas Aletis*) was a port with links to the Channel Islands, Insular Britain and the northern coast of Frankia.² These contacts probably continued after Roman withdrawal, which may account for the geographically wide-ranging influences in the early part of its patron's hagiography.³ Unlike Dol and Saint-Pol, the diocese of Alet almost certainly has Roman origins. It may well have originated with a Roman predecessor based at nearby Corseul, which moved to Alet as Roman powers withdrew.⁴

Alet was also one of Brittany's easternmost sees, and is thought to have had greater contact with and loyalty to Frankia than some of its neighbours. Its bishop, also abbot of Saint-Méen, acknowledged Charlemagne's authority in 814.⁵ Lot and later Guénaël Le Duc believed that contacts with Saintes reported in Machutus' hagiography were genuine, suggesting the see may have had on-going contact

¹ Confirmation charter granted by Charlemagne to Hélocar, bishop of Alet and abbot of St-Méen-de-Gaël. The charter does not survive, but was copied by Morice in his *Mémoires pour servir de preuves*, vol. 1, pp. 225-7.

² Loïc Langoët, 'Les îles anglo-normandes à l'époque gallo-romaine', in Peter Johnstone, *The Archaeology of the Channel Islands* (Trowbridge, 1986), pp. 107-137. Alet's contacts with northern France can also be extrapolated from evidence for similar contact in the *vitae Samsonis*: Jacques le Maho, 'Ermitages et monastères bretons', in Pierre Bouet, Bernard Merdrignac et al. eds. *Bretons et Normands au Moyen Age: Rivalités, malentendus, convergences: Colloque internationale de Cerisy-La-Salle, 5-9 octobre 2005* (Rennes, 2008) pp. 65-91.

³ For Breton interaction with the sea, see: Jean-Christophe Cassard, *Les Bretons et la mer au moyen âge*, (Rennes, 1998). For trade between the coasts of Ireland, Aquitaine and northern Brittany, see: Guénaël Le Duc, 'La Bretagne, intermédiaire entre l'Irlande et l'Aquitaine', in J-M Picard, ed. *Aquitaine and Ireland in the Middle Ages*, (Dublin, 1995), pp. 173-87.

⁴ Luce Pietri, 'Organisation de la province', in Pietri and Bيارne, *Province ecclésiastique de Tours*, pp. 11-20, esp. pp. 14-17; N. K. Chadwick, *Early Brittany*, (Cambridge, 1969), pp. 247-9.

⁵ Hyacinthe Morice, *Mémoires pour servir de preuves à l'histoire ecclésiastique et civile de Bretagne* (Paris, 1742-6), vol. 1, pp. 225-7; Smith, *Province and Empire*, p. 70; Chédeville and Guillotel, *La Bretagne*, pp. 220-2.

with Aquitaine throughout the ninth century.⁶ On-going contact with Frankia is also suggested by the presence of Frankish texts at the cathedral in the 870s, possibly in the form of a liturgical collection (see below).

The city lay within an area in which evidence for Romance as well as Breton speech in the early middle ages overlaps.⁷ In any case, the city's clerical elites, secular rulers and traders must have had contact with Romance-speaking areas of Frankia to the west and south through Aquitaine. This seems reasonable grounds to believe that some could have understood Machutus' hagiography, which Bili wrote with the intention that it should be disseminated for reading in the diocese's churches, but again too little is known of early Breton audiences for Latin hagiography to know for certain, nor is it clear how much of the text would have been comprehensible to how many.⁸ Nonetheless, it is worth bearing in mind the possibility that some lay elites may have heard and possibly understood Bili's work. Indeed chapter 7 argues that part of its sub-text may have been written to avoid offending Salomon's political sensibilities.

Little is known of the monastic community at Saint-Malo. Its fortunes were presumably linked to those of the bishops of Alet until the middle of the ninth century. Poulin has argued that by the later ninth century, its monks had some sympathy with the metropolitan claims of Samson's and Maglorius' communities, perhaps prompted by disagreements with the bishops of Alet, who favoured Tours' claim to jurisdiction over the Breton churches.⁹

Slightly more is known about Alet's bishops, who did not escape the Breton internal politics of Nominoë and Salomon's reigns. Its bishop Mahen, along with the bishops of Saint-Pol and Dol, was deposed and replaced at the Synod of Coitlough in 849/50.¹⁰ His successor but one, Ratuili, was the dedicatee of Bili's *Vita Machutis*. The outlines of Ratuili's career are vague, but it is possible to make a hypothetical reconstruction of his loyalties. There is circumstantial evidence that he may have had links to Salomon and may even have owed his consecration as bishop to a potential warming of relations between Salomon and the bishops of Tours. Ratuili's predecessor, Rethuald, is last

⁶ Lot argued convincingly that Bili had had contacts with a cult to Machutus in Saintes, observing that the itinerary Bili described mirrors that of probable contemporary routes between the two and that the route itself is lined with dedications to Machutus. Lot, 'Les diverses rédactions de la vie de saint Malo', in Lot, *Mélanges*, pp. 97-206, esp. pp. 120-56. Le Duc argues that the places mentioned in Machutus' hagiographies, and the origins of their sources mirror trade routes between Ireland, Aquitaine and Brittany: Le Duc, 'La Bretagne'.

⁷ See map in Smith, *Province and Empire*, p. xx. The seminal study on the limits of Breton and Romance speech is by Joseph Loth: *L'émigration bretonne du ve au vii siècle à notre ère* (Rennes, 1883). Loth's conclusions have been refined a number of times, notably by Tanguy, 'La limite linguistique'. Evidence is summarised and discussed by Chédeville and Guillotel, *La Bretagne*, pp. 89-111.

⁸ For Bili's intention that his work should be widely disseminated, see: 'La *Vita Machutis* par Bili', *Prologue* III, p. 350.

⁹ Poulin, *L'hagiographie bretonne*, p. 183.

¹⁰ H. Guillotel, 'Les évêques d'Alet du IXe au milieu du XIIe siècle', *Annales de la société d'histoire et d'archéologie de l'arrondissement de Saint-Malo* (1979), pp. 251-66, pp. 255-7.

mentioned in March 863, while Ratuili himself is first mentioned in July 866.¹¹ This period coincides with Salomon's deposition of those bishops appointed by Nominoë, 'who were not of his own tongue', and their replacement by Breton-speaking counterparts sanctioned by Tours in around 865.¹² Rethuald, whose name at least is Germanic rather than Breton, might plausibly have been among those deposed. If he was, then Ratuili would have owed his appointment to Salomon's submission to the Papacy and may even, like bishop Electramnus of Rennes, have been consecrated at Tours in 866.¹³ There is a case to be made that Ratuili may have had close links to Salomon. Not only may he have been consecrated on Salomon's orders, but Salomon's palace and his personal church at Plélan lay within Ratuili's diocese of Alet. Perhaps as a consequence, Ratuili seems to have been a member of Salomon's retinue at least on occasion; he witnessed a number of the ruler's charters at Plélan in the late 860s.¹⁴ His disappearance from the historical record after 872 may well reflect the decline of Plélan after Salomon's murder in 873. Scant evidence and speculation aside, Alet's history is largely unattested until Bili, a deacon of Alet, wrote a hagiography of its patron Machutus around 870.¹⁵ Although Bili's work clearly remained in use at the cathedral of Alet, it was soon rewritten by two anonymous members of the monastic community of Saint-Malo in the same city.¹⁶

Machutus' *vitae*: content and recensions

Like most of his fellow Breton saints, Machutus' career is not attested outside his hagiographies, which present him as an immigrant from south Wales, bishop of Alet and later as émigré to the Saintonge. The *Vitae Machutis* fall into two main families: Bili's *Vita Machutis* and its variants, and two anonymous *vitae*. They were all composed in the later ninth or early tenth century. Bili claimed to have based his work on a lost earlier *Life*, although since his work borrows heavily from other saints' hagiographies and clearly serves ninth-century ends, the claim is probably a hagiographical cliché.¹⁷ The author of the anonymous *vita brevior* used Bili's work as a hypotext and so the anonymous *vita* must of course have been written later. The second anonymous *Vita Machutis*, the *vita longior*, is merely a slight amplification of the *vita brevior*, probably composed not afterwards.¹⁸

¹¹ Cartulary of Redon, ch. 78, March 6th 863, p. 61; Cartulary of Redon, ch. 49, pp. 39-40, 13th July 866.

¹² Smith, 'archbishopric of Dol' and *Chronique de Nantes*, pp. 54-5.

¹³ Quentin, 'Documents relatifs à l'élection et consécration', pp. 109-114.

¹⁴ Cartulary of Redon, ch. 109, pp. 82-3; ch. 222, pp. 173-4; ch. 251, p. 192; ch. 247, p. 198-9, ch. 257, p. 207.

¹⁵ Chédeville and Guillotel, *La Bretagne*, pp. 303-10; for further discussion and source references, see: Smith, *Province and Empire*, pp. 155-6 and 158-9. Machutus is known as Malo in France and Macoult in the Saintonge.

¹⁶ Poulin, *L'hagiographie bretonne*, pp. 171-4.

¹⁷ For reference to a *Vita Primegenia*, see: 'La *Vita Machutis* par Bili', *Prologue*, p. 341; Poulin however doubts whether such a text existed: *L'hagiographie bretonne*, pp. 156-7. For the tendency of Carolingian hagiographers to invoke a poorly-written Merovingian source-text and the difficulty of knowing whether such claims were true or merely clichés, see: Gouillet, *Écriture et Réécriture*, pp. 34-5.

¹⁸ Poulin, *L'hagiographie bretonne*, pp. 180-2.

The *vitae* therefore contain little of value for studying Alet's history at earlier periods. Machutus' *vitae* are however useful as evidence for intellectual and political developments at the ninth-century cathedral of Alet and the neighbouring monastery of Saint-Malo. The differences between Bili's *Life* (BHL, 5116a/b) and the rewritten, anonymous *vitae* (BHL 5117 and BHL 5118a) in particular offer insight into differences and tensions between two neighbouring foundations. Here, I analyse the date, context and place of writing first for Bili's work and then for the later, anonymous *Lives*.

Bili's *Vita Machutis* (BVM)

Bili's *Vita Machutis* is a lengthy and geographically wide-ranging work, one that invites speculation over the political and literary connections between the regions - Insular Britain, Brittany, Frankia and the Saintonge - that it covers and from which it takes its sources. Bili demonstrates loyalty to the old metropolitan of Tours, rather than the pretender Dol in his work, as well as claiming links to Columbanus and Luxeuil (although he makes it clear that Columbanus is Irish, not Frankish, so the link is not presented as a link to Frankia).¹⁹ In addition to an account of Machutus' activity in Insular Britain and Brittany, Bili provides an extensive account of Machutus' activity, both living and posthumous, in the Saintonge. Book II claims that his relics were translated from his place of burial at Saintes to the cathedral of Alet.²⁰ It is even possible that Bili's Machutus represents a conflation of a Breton saint Maclovus and a hypothetical Aquitanian saint Macoux.²¹ Bili's work also demonstrates a great deal of Frankish literary influence, in its style, its focus on a 'Carolingian-style' relic cult, and in its sources, many of which are Merovingian hagiographies.²² The work is a rich enough source for Brittany's contact with the outside world to merit further investigation.

This study uses Lot's edition of Bili's work, which is based largely on the two most complete manuscript copies, London, BL, Royal A. x, ff. 63r-103r and Oxford, Bodl. 535, ff. 62-93r.²³ It is generally regarded as a reasonably accurate reflection (allowing for scribal and editorial errors) of the texts that Bili wrote and is preferable to Le Duc's edition as it marks manuscript variants and sources known to Lot, as well as helpfully highlighting the interpolated chapters in italics.²⁴

¹⁹ 'La *vita Machutis par Bili*', pp. 340-430, Bk I, ch. 40, p. 378; Smith, *Province and Empire*, pp. 158-9; for the reference to Columbanus, see: 'La *vita Machutis par Bili*', Bk I, ch. 46, p. 381.

²⁰ 'La *Vita Machutis par Bili*', Bk I, ch. 76-89, pp. 400-09 and Bk II, ch. 1-14, pp. 411-25.

²¹ Lot, 'Les diverses redactions de la vie de saint Malo', in Lot, *Mélanges*, pp. 97-200, pp. 174-6; Lot also notes that Bili was clearly familiar with the region of Saintes, and that the clergy of Alet continued to have contact with Machutus' foundations in the Saintonge into the twelfth century.

²² For Bili's sources, see note 6 above; for more in-depth discussion of Frankish influence on Bili's work, see: Smith, 'Oral and Written', pp. 309-43.

²³ 'La *Vita Machutis par Bili*', pp. 340-430. A single chapter by Bili, chapter 50, is omitted from both manuscripts. Lot filled the lacuna using a now lost manuscript from Marmoutiers. Chapter 50 is also present in a later manuscript Lot did not consult, Hereford Cathedral Library P. 7. Vi, ff. 58r-66r.

²⁴ For Le Duc's edition, see: Guénaél Le Duc, *La Vie de Saint Malo, Évêque d'Alet, Version écrite par le diacre Bili (fin du IX Siècle), Textes latin et anglo-saxon avec traductions françaises*. Les dossiers du Ce. R.A.A. No. B, Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies (Alet, 1979). For discussion of editions, see: Poulin, *L'hagiographie bretonne*, pp. 154-5.

Bili and Ratuili

Bili described himself as a deacon of Alet and dedicated his work to his bishop Ratuili, who appears in the Redon charters between 866 and 872.²⁵ The dedication therefore provides an approximate dating for Bili's work. It is possible Ratuili commissioned the *Life* as a celebration of his own consecration and the accompanying establishment of the see of Alet (the title *episcopus civitatis Aletis* was first applied to Ratuili).²⁶ If so, Bili would probably have produced his work in the early years of Ratuili's office, in the late 860s.

There is a still stronger case that, whatever the reality of Ratuili's links to Salomon, he had ambitions to align himself with the Breton ruler. In Bili's *Life*, but less so in the anonymous *vitae*, Machutus' career is modelled closely on the career of Samson of Dol. His consecration is of particular interest. Bili, perhaps competing for the favour of the Breton leader with the bishops of Dol, paraphrases the scene of Samson's consecration in the VSS (itself taken from the *Vita Paterni*). Numerous details are similar in each work: the saint's visit to the king's court, where he cures a man possessed by a demon and where the saint's fame subsequently spreads, the saint's eventual consecration on the king's orders, the casting out of more demons, the settling of a dove on the saint's right shoulder and the saint's eventual return to his own church.²⁷ There is one crucial difference, however. Whereas Samson visits the Frankish king Childebert's court, Bili depicts Machutus visiting the Breton leader Judicaël's court, and it is Judicaël and not Childebert who places Machutus over the see of Alet.²⁸ Judicaël is even described in language faintly reminiscent of one of Salomon's charters, '*princeps...qui tunc dux Britanniae multarumque aliarum regionum nomine Iudicahel erat*', although the echo is convincing largely because of the sub-text surrounding Machutus' consecration.²⁹ The sub-text here seems to be that while Samson owes his position and loyalties to the Frankish ruler Childebert, Machutus owes his own position and loyalty not to the Frankish leader, but to the Breton one.

²⁵ 'La *Vita Machutis* par Bili', *Prologue*, p. 340; For Ratuili's time as bishop, see: Guillotel, 'Les évêques d'Alet', pp. 251-266, p. 257. Bili was probably a member of the cathedral clergy, rather than a monk, see: Poulin, *L'hagiographie bretonne*, pp. 168-9.

²⁶ Ratuili's predecessor Rethuald signed a charter in the Cartulary of Redon as *episcopus in Poutrecoet* in March 863; when Ratuili appears on the scene in July 866, he is *episcopo in Aleta civitate*: Cartulary of Redon, ch. 78, p. 61 and ch. 49, July 13th 866, pp. 39-40.

²⁷ Compare 'La *Vita Machutis* par Bili', Bk I, ch. 37-43 with Plaine, '*Vita antiqua*', Bk II, ch. 4-24, esp. ch. 4-5 and 14 (pp. 123-47). The author of the VPS himself took these details from the *Vita Paterni*: see: Brett, 'The Hare and the Tortoise', p. 84.

²⁸ 'La *Vita Machutis* par Bili', Bk I, ch. 37-43, pp. 377-9.

²⁹ *Ibid.* Bk I, ch. 38, p. 377 (a prince named Judicaël who was then leader of Brittany and many other regions). Compare to: Cartulary of Redon, ch. 241, p. 189, '*Salomon...totius Britanniae magneque partis Galliarum princeps*' (Salomon, prince of Brittany and a large part of Gaul). The similarity was first noticed by du Chesne, 'Etude sur les anciennes Vies de saint Malo'. See also, Poulin, *L'hagiographie bretonne*, p. 169.

The corpus attributed to Bili is extensive, comprising:³⁰

- A dedicatory letter to Ratuili
- A (first) verse
- A (first) hymn
- A dedicatory letter to the brothers of Alet
- A prologue
- Book I, detailing Machutus' childhood in Insular Britain, journey to Brittany and time at Alet and finally his exile and death in the Saintonge.
- A (second) verse
- Book II, detailing the translation of Machutus' relics to Alet and a series of land grants and miracles.
- A sermon for Machutus' feast day
- A (second) hymn.

This corpus is preserved largely in two manuscripts, London, British Library, Royal A. x, ff. 63r-103r and Oxford, Bodl. 535, ff. 62-93r, dating respectively from the late tenth and the eleventh or twelfth centuries.³¹ Both manuscripts were produced in Anglo-Saxon England and have been linked, although without explanation, to Winchester.³² The corpus is addressed to both Ratuili and the clergy of Alet; it also contains verbal similarities that hint at a single authorship and so Bili's authorship of this body of work is broadly accepted.³³ However, earlier scholars have suggested that two elements of this corpus may be later interpolations: chapters 51-75 of Book I and the sermon for Machutus' feast day.

Book I, chapters 51-75: Authorship

Academic speculation over authorship of chapters 51-75 began with Arthur du Chesne in 1885, and his opinion on the topic remains perhaps the best-articulated.³⁴ Du Chesne was confident that these chapters were interpolated into Bili's work by a later redactor and offers four main reasons for his argument. First, there is a break in the narrative after chapter 50; the narrative is picked up again only at chapter 76. Second, the style of these passages in du Chesne's opinion differs from that of the rest

³⁰ For details, bibliography and full discussion of these, see: Poulin, *L'hagiographie bretonne*, pp. 142-7.

³¹ For multiple references to the dating of each see: Ibid. p. 147 and p. 151.

³² For links to Winchester, see: David Dumville, 'Liturgical Books from Late Anglo-Saxon England: A Review of Some Historical Problems', in *Liturgy and the Ecclesiastical History of Late Anglo-Saxon England: Four Studies* (Woodbridge, 1982), p. 110 and David Yerkes, ed. *The Old English Life of Machutus*, (Toronto, 1984), p. xlii and David Yerkes, 'The Accounts of St Machutus in the Breviaries of Hyde and York', *Revue Bénédictine* 91 (1981), pp. 383-5.

³³ For Bili's authorship of the whole, see: Poulin, *L'hagiographie bretonne*, pp. 163-70.

³⁴ Arthur du Chesne, 'Étude sur les anciennes Vies de saint Malo', *Revue historique de l'Ouest: Notices et mémoires* 1 (1885), pp. 61-80 and pp. 242-264, esp. pp. 68-72.

of the text; it is both ‘better’ and ‘more pompous’ (or perhaps, ‘more formal’). Du Chesne (and after him Lot) accepted Plaine’s observation that one chapter begins with an address to a group of ‘brothers’, a stylistic device Bili does not use elsewhere in Book I or II, and which hence represents an interpolation from a lost source.³⁵ Third, the content of these chapters in some ways contradicts the content of the remainder of the work. Outside this section, Machutus is presented consistently as living in a Christian country, while within it he is sometimes (though not always) presented as a missionary saint converting pagans.³⁶ This apparent contradiction is significant because it appears solely in chapters 51-75 and not in the remainder of the text. Finally, chapters 51-75 are omitted both from the list of chapter titles *and* the content list of the earliest manuscript copy, London, BM, Royal A. x, ff. 63r-103r, a phenomenon that supported du Chesne’s belief that this manuscript represented an early state of Bili’s text.³⁷ All these factors led du Chesne to conclude that chapters 51-75 were interpolated into later copies. His reasoning seems convincing.

Ferdinand Lot however disagreed with much of du Chesne’s conclusion. Although he agreed that the chapters were interpolated into the work, Lot believed that they were added by Bili himself, to produce two redactions by the same author.³⁸ Poulin meanwhile is agnostic about both the possibility of interpolation and the passages’ authorship.³⁹ On the one hand, he notes astutely that chapters 51-75 contain a string of interpolations from a range of sources not quoted elsewhere in Bili’s extensive work and suggests that if these passages were indeed interpolated, they may have been added in Paris after the cult moved there around 925.⁴⁰ On the other hand, Poulin notes that where chapters 51-75 are not taken verbatim from other sources, they sometimes echo Bili’s text stylistically, perhaps indicating that Bili was in fact their author.

What are we to make of this disagreement? Du Chesne’s arguments in favour of interpolation by a later author are convincing, not least since, despite their reservations, neither Lot nor Poulin has produced any substantial arguments against them. Poulin’s observation that the chapters borrow from sources unique to this section supports du Chesne’s view fairly convincingly, and indeed it is supported by the presence of further sources unique to this section and unknown to Poulin (see

³⁵ Dom. François Plaine, ‘Vie inédite de saint Malo évêque d’Aleth (510-621 ?), par saint Bili, évêque de Vannes et martyr. Texte latin avec prolégomènes et notes en français’ in *Bulletin Ille-et-Vilaine* 16 (1883), pp. 137-264’ (ch. 85 according to Plaine’s numbering), p. 220 note 2. Lot repeats this point in, ‘La *Vita Machutis* par Bili’, ch. 71, p. 396 note 1. *Nobis, fratres non licet silentio...* (Brothers, let us not pass over in silence...). For a table showing the different chapter numbers for Plaine’s and Lot’s editions of the *Vita Machutis*, see p. 339. A number of database searches have failed to find the source for this quotation.

³⁶ Compare Bili’s arrival at Alet and meeting with Festivus to his conversions in chapter 68: ‘La *Vita Machutis* par Bili’, ch. 28, pp. 371 and ch. 68, p. 394.

³⁷ This suggestion was also accepted by Lot, *Mélanges*, pp. 334-8; see also discussion in Poulin, *L’hagiographie bretonne*, pp. 166-8.

³⁸ Lot, *Mélanges*, pp. 334-8.

³⁹ Poulin, *L’hagiographie bretonne*, pp. 166-8.

⁴⁰ Poulin notes that the *Lives* of Fursa, Geneviève and Germanus suggest Parisian influence: *Ibid.* p. 167.

below). Meanwhile, Poulin’s verbal parallels are limited to ‘*mirum in modum*’ which Poulin himself describes as a hagiographical commonplace, and ‘*hec et hiis similia*’, which appears only twice in the whole work; they are not on balance very persuasive.⁴¹

Lastly, if we omit chapters 51-75 from consideration, we even see traces of what may be a faint intertextual pattern based partly on geography and partly on Machutus’ role within these chapters. Machutus is associated with the Irish abbot Brendan when in Insular Britain, the Frankish bishop Paternus as soon as he sets foot in Alet and the Aquitainian Leontius when in Saintes.⁴² Models and associations are chosen based on how geographically and culturally appropriate they are at each point in the narrative. This pattern would be lost if the models in chapters 51-75 were part of Bili’s earliest text. The models for Machutus in chapters 51-75 are highly variable; they include among others, a Gallo-Roman nun, Genevofa, a Roman martyr, Sebastian and an Irish hermit, Fursa.⁴³ It seems therefore that these chapters were interpolated, probably though not necessarily by another author than Bili. This conclusion raises the question: are these chapters evidence of intellectual change at ninth or early tenth-century Alet, or of another place and time entirely?

Book I, chapters 51-75: dating and location

These interpolations were almost certainly made in Brittany or Neustria before c. 925, and probably before c. 900. This date is suggested first by the sources used within this section, which are prolific enough to indicate a rough *terminus ante quem*, and by their appearance in later redactions of Bili’s work. The location meanwhile is suggested mainly by the sources’ focus on Alet. Searches using the academic Brepols Cross Database Search Tool and the rather less academically respected Google have uncovered still further sources for chapters 51-75 from a range of hagiographies not quoted elsewhere in BVM: Alcuin’s *Vita Vedasti*, Pseudo-Ambrose’s *Vita Sebastiani*, the anonymous, little-known *Lives* of Sts Licinius of Angers, Almirus of Le Mans and Firminus of Amiens as well as further borrowings from Venantius Fortunatus’ *Vita Germani* and the *Vita Fursei*.⁴⁴ The discovery of new sources brings the total number of known sources used in chapters 51-75 to 13, and leaves only seven chapters (55, 58, 61, 65, 70, 71 and 72) without identified sources.

Chapter	Sources: paraphrased	Sources: copied verbatim
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⁴¹ Ibid. p. 167 and p. 159, note 40 for Poulin’s comments on the phrase *mirum in modum*.

⁴² For Brendan, see: ‘*La Vita Machutis* par Bili’, ch. 1-26, pp. 353-70; for Paternus, see: ch. 32-3, pp. 373-4, ch. 36, pp. 376-7. This work also appears in the *Prologue* to Ratuili and general remarks on Machutus in chapter 1: *Prologue*, pp. 351-2 and ch. 1, p. 353. For Leontius, see: ch. 78-87, pp. 401-6.

⁴³ ‘*La Vita Machutis* par Bili’, ch. 60 and 62 for Genevofa, ch. 69 for Sebastian, ch. 56, 67 and 68 for Fursa.

⁴⁴ Ch. 54 is taken from Venantius Fortunatus’ *Vita Germani* (ch. 43); ch. 67 from the *Virtutes Fursei* (ch. 8), ch. 69 from Pseudo-Ambrose’s *Acta Sebastiani* (ch. 7), ch. 73 from the *Vita Licinii* (ch. 24), ch. 74 from the *Vita Almiri* (ch. 10 and 12) while ch. 75 quotes first Alcuin’s *Vita Vedasti* (ch. 9) and later the *Vita Firmini* (ch. 4).

Prologue 1: (to the brothers at Alet)		
Prologue 2: (to Ratuili the bishop)		1 st 1/4 of chapter copied verbatim from Venantius' <i>Vita Paterni</i> (Prologue; <i>Religiosum vivorum...renovator auditui</i>)
1	First sentence paraphrases <i>Vita Paterni</i> , ch. 9	
1-23	Echoes incidents in the <i>Navigatio Sancti Brendani</i>	
14	Events mirror those of VSS, I, ch. 12	
16	Events mirror those of VSS, I, ch. 7	
32-3		Both chapters copied almost verbatim from Venantius' <i>Vita Paterni</i> , ch. 20-3
34-5		
36		Whole chapter copied almost verbatim from Venantius' <i>Vita Paterni</i> , ch. 34-5
37-43	Events mirror those of VSS, II, ch. 4-24.	
39		Quotation from <i>Vita Silvestri</i> forms final third of chapter (<i>ipse enim...ecclesiae assidue</i>)
44-50		
51		First sentence paraphrased from Venantius, <i>Vita Germani</i> , ch. 3 (<i>Quantum uero...profusus extiterit</i>), Middle 1/3 of chapter paraphrased and abridged, from Venantius, <i>Vita Germani</i> , ch. 12 (<i>qualis quantusque...dignitas ut pastus</i>), Final 1/3 of chapter paraphrased and abridged from Venantius, <i>Vita Germani</i> , ch. 73-4 (<i>Qui equitans...aliis prodesset</i>)
52	Echoes Venantius, <i>Vita Germani</i> , ch. 65	
53	Echoes Venantius, <i>Vita Germani</i> , ch. 54	
54	Echoes Venantius, <i>Vita Germani</i> , ch. 43	
55		
56		First 1/2 of chapter quotes <i>Vita</i> (BHL 3209), ch. 1

		<i>(nobilis quidem genere...conditus erat)</i>
57		First sentence (of 3) quotes almost verbatim from <i>Passio ss. Cosmae et Damiani</i> , ch. 1 Final sentence is taken from Jerome, <i>Vita Hilarioni</i> , ch. 1, (1 sentence)
58		
59	Paraphrases Venantius, <i>Vita Germani</i> , ch. 75	
60	Paraphrases <i>Vita Genovefae</i> , (A), ch. 49	
61		
62	Echoes <i>Vita Genovefae</i> , (A), ch. 31	
63	Echoes <i>Vita Secunda Carileffii</i> , II, ch. 2, 12	
64	Sulpicius Severus, <i>Vita Martini</i> , ch. 7, 3*	
65		
66	Briefly paraphrases a sentence of Venantius, <i>Vita Paterni</i> , ch. 27	
67	Heavily paraphrased from <i>Vita Fursei</i> , ch. 8	
68	Loosely mirrors <i>Vita Fursei</i> , ch. 1.9	
69		Briefly quotes Pseudo-Ambrose, <i>Vita Sebastiani</i> , ch. 7 (<i>habens uxorem...haec itaque, cum</i>)
70	Source unknown – style does not seem to be Bili's	
71	Sermon, noted by Duchesne. Source unknown	
72		
73		Whole chapter taken almost verbatim from <i>Vita Licinii</i> , ch. 24
74		Final 1/5 of chapter quotes from the last paragraph of Adric of Le Mans, <i>Vita Almiri</i> (no chapter numbers in the sole edition) (<i>Multa quidem et alia...sumus maxime</i>)
75		First half of chapter quotes verbatim Alcuin, <i>Vita Vedastis</i> , ch. 9 (<i>Rexit autem...veritatis gaudebant</i>) Middle quotes from Ambrose, <i>Servus Dei ad Christi fratribus per omnem Italiam in Domino aeternam</i>

		<p><i>salutem (In divinis...tuas a me)</i></p> <p>Much of the end quotes from <i>Vita Firmini</i>, ch. 4 (<i>Istam talem...sine fine eternam</i>).</p>
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* I have included the reference to Sulpicius Severus' *Vita Martini* since it appears in *L'hagiographe bretonne*. However, Bili's chapter contains no verbal parallels with Sulpicius and I am sceptical of the link between this chapter and Sulpicius' work.

** I have included this reference since it appears in Dolbeau's review of Le Duc. However, there are no verbal parallels with the *Vita Fursei* – the passage is paraphrased.

Sources: Dolbeau, Review of Le Duc; du Chesne, 'Etude sur les vies anciennes'; Kerlouégan, 'Citations d'auteurs chrétiens'; 'La *Vita Machutis* par Bili'; Poncelet, 'Une source de la Vie de saint Malo'; Poulin, *L'hagiographie bretonne*, pp. 158-68.

Table 1. Borrowings and verbatim quotations from other sources in Bili's *Vita Machutis*. No further quotations other than Biblical ones have been identified for the remainder of Book I, nor despite a modest search, for the whole of Book II.

Borrowing here is sufficiently prolific to hint at a *terminus ante quem*; the section is unlikely to have been added very much later than the date its latest source was written. Since none of these sources can be shown to date from later than c. 860, they provide a rough *terminus ante quem* of c. 900-925. The *Life* of St Licinius is thought to date from the late eighth century.⁴⁵ The *Vita Firmini* remains undated, although in Roger Collins' opinion, it dates from the ninth century 'at the very earliest'.⁴⁶ Although the content of the *Vita Firmini* has not been studied in detail, its evident interest in Roman-era martyrdom is reminiscent of the early years of the ninth century and the late eighth and especially perhaps the reign of Louis the Pious.⁴⁷ The *Life* of St Almirus meanwhile was an early work by the author of the Le Mans forgeries, written c. 855-6.⁴⁸ Finally, chapter 63 borrows from the *Vita II Carileffi*, probably written c. 856-63.⁴⁹ Chapters 51-75 do not therefore borrow from any sources demonstrably written after 863 at the latest. A date for these chapters' interpolation much later than c. 900 therefore seems improbable and a date of the 870s entirely possible.⁵⁰ A late ninth-century dating allows for the possibility that they were interpolated either by Bili himself or a later redactor.

⁴⁵ The *Acta Sanctorum* list the *Vita Licinii* as the *Vita Secunda*: AA SS Februaruii XIII, pp. 675-686. However, Jaeger identifies this version as the earlier of the two *Vita Licinii* and dates it to the eighth century, dating the second, written for Marbod of Rennes, to the eleventh century.

⁴⁶ Roger Collins, *The Basques*, (Oxford, 1986, 2nd edition, 1990) pp. 61-3. C. Stephen Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels: Cathedral Schools and Social Ideals in Medieval Europe, 950-1200* (Pennsylvania, 2013) p. 87.

⁴⁷ McKitterick, *Charlemagne*, pp. 292-380; Bouchard, *Rewriting Saints and Ancestors*, pp. 89-5. For Rome as an ideal during the reign of Charles the Bald, see: Nelson, 'Images of Authority'.

⁴⁸ Philippe Le Maître, 'L'œuvre d'Aldric du Mans et sa signification' (832-57), *Francia*, 8, (1980), pp. 43-64, p. 64.

⁴⁹ Goffart, *The Le Mans Forgeries*, pp. 139-40 dates the *Life* to c. 850-63, and observes that it is based on the *Vita Almiri*. Le Maître has subsequently dated the *Vita Almiri* to c. 855-7, thus creating a new window of dating for the *Vita II Carileffi* of c. 856-63. The borrowing from the *Vita II Carileffi* was identified by Albert Poncelet, 'Une source de la Vie de saint Malo par Bili', *Analecta Bollandiana* 24 (1905), pp. 483-486.

⁵⁰ They may have been added at some point after Salomon's death in 873. Bili in the main part of his work refers relatively consistently to kings, princes or leaders of all Brittany, reflecting the province's largely unified state under Salomon. In the interpolated section, there is only one reference to a king, but he merely rules Dumnonia, not the whole of Brittany. This

A dating for these chapters of no later than the end of the century is supported by their appearance in Machutus' anonymous hagiographies and other redactions of Bili's work. They are present in the Old English *Vita Machutis*, the Latin exemplar for which *could* have arrived in England only in the late tenth century, but is more likely to have arrived with the influx of Breton refugees – and texts – in the first half of the century.⁵¹ All but two of these chapters are present, too, in an abridged and interpolated copy of BVM preserved in a twelfth-century manuscript in Hereford Cathedral Library, P. 7. vi.⁵² This copy contains material almost certainly dating from the first half, and probably the first quarter of the tenth century and almost certainly made in Brittany.⁵³ If the Hereford copy was taken from a single exemplar, then this would suggest again that these interpolations were already present when the tenth-century additions were made. Finally, chapters 63-65, which are partly taken from other sources and are partly 'original' compositions, formed the basis for part of the anonymous *vitae Machutis*, which were almost certainly in existence by c. 920 (see below). The textual history of BVM and its successors therefore supports the argument that the interpolations in chapters 51-75 were present before the ninth century ended. In light of their frequent appearance in those texts that descend from Bili's work and which were almost certainly in existence before c. 925, the interpolations may well have been added relatively soon after Bili wrote, perhaps as early as the 870s.

Locating the interpolations

Their dating alone helps locate these interpolations fairly securely to Brittany, since the cathedral clergy of Alet do not appear to have left Brittany until c. 925. The chapters' content supports this idea. In fact, chapters 51-75 arguably focus more on Alet than does the main text. In the remainder of Book I, Bili moves his narrative repeatedly between locations – from Insular Britain, to Brittany, Tours, Luxeuil and Aquitaine. In contrast, chapters 51-75 implicitly or explicitly locate their narrative in the countryside around Alet or in one instance, 25 km away at Corseul.⁵⁴ This suggests that whoever added the interpolations had an interest in the region of Alet and, in all likelihood, added the

might reflect the fragmentation of Brittany after Salomon's death, although equally, it could be a borrowing from the VSS. 'La *Vita Machutis* par Bili', Bk I, ch. 64, pp. 390-1 and for commentary, p. 127 and p. 130; Plaine, '*Vita antiqua*', Bk I, ch. 59, p. 232; Flobert, *La vie ancienne de saint Samson*, Bk II, ch. 17, pp. 139-40.

⁵¹ The OE translation was composed between the late ninth and early eleventh centuries. Yerkes notes that its vocabulary has parallels with that of Æthelwold, which, although Yerkes does not say so, perhaps makes a late tenth-century date most likely. Yerkes, *The Old English Life*, pp. xxxvi-xlii.

⁵² Hereford Cathedral Library, P. 7. Vi, ff. 58r-66r. The fragmentary ch. 61 and ch. 62 are omitted.

⁵³ 'A Comparative Exploration of the Redactions of Bili's Life of St Malo preserved in England, focusing on Hereford Cathedral Library P.7.vi', Alexandra Jordan, MRes Thesis, University of Leicester, 2012; HCL P. 7. vi, ff. 66r.

⁵⁴ 'La *Vita Machutis* par Bili', ch. 64, '*ecclesia qui vocatur Corsult*' (in the church called Corseul), ch. 67, p. 393, '*pago Aleth, juxta fluiuium qui vocatur Renc*' (the country of Alet, beside the river called the Rance); ch. 69, p. 394 '*extra ecclesiam Aletic civitatis*' (out of the cathedral of the city of Alet), ch. 75, p. 399, '*in civitate pagi Aletis*' (in the city of the country of Alet).

interpolations there. This makes it possible in some measure to chart political and intellectual change at Alet over the later decades of the ninth century.

The Sermon

Finally, we are left with the sermon and the hymn that forms part of it: when and where were they written, and by whom? Le Duc doubted that Bili was the author.⁵⁵ Dolbeau disagreed, albeit cautiously, observing that the verse forming part of the sermon has stylistic parallels with the first verse in the *dossier*, also thought to have been composed by Bili.⁵⁶ It is perhaps best left to scholars of Latin verse to explore this question in detail, although comment can still be made on the sermon's content and sources.

Evidence against Bili's authorship of the sermon and hymn is circumstantial. The hymn may have been inspired by one of the chapters interpolated after Bili wrote his main text (although this does not preclude Bili's authorship, especially if he was also the author of the interpolated chapters). There is a close relationship between chapter 57, '*cecis visum, claudis gressum, surdis auditum*' and the hymn '*cecis redditis visibus, claudis integris gressibus, surdis sanatis auribus*'.⁵⁷ Meanwhile, the opening of the sermon is taken from Alcuin's sermon on the feast of St Vedast, a text that could have reached Alet along with the copy of Alcuin's *Vita Vedasti*, quoted in chapter 75.⁵⁸ It is also true that the sermon, in both the calqued and 'original' parts, echoes the theme of preaching and pastoral care, ideas neglected in Bili's main text but present towards the end of the interpolated section (see chapter 7).

Each of these observations hint at some unity in theme or sources between the sermon and chapters 51-75, yet none produces a conclusive argument. The refrain of '*cecis visum, claudis gressum...*' is a hagiographical commonplace and its parallels with chapter 57 could easily be coincidental. Alcuin meanwhile was so popular a writer and Vedast so prestigious a saint that we should not read too much into the fact that the interpolation and sermon both copy from his work on St Vedast.⁵⁹ Finally, the argument that the sermon was a later addition to the *dossier* disrupts the argument above that London, BL, Royal. A. x represented an early state of Bili's text, because the sermon is preserved only in this

⁵⁵ Guénael Le Duc, *La Vie de Saint Malo, Évêque d'Alet, Version écrite par le diacre Bili (fin du IX Siècle), Textes latin et anglo-saxon avec traductions françaises*. Les dossiers du Ce. R.A.A. No. B, Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies (Alet, 1979), introduction.

⁵⁶ François Dolbeau, 'Les sources d'un sermon en l'honneur de saint Malo', *Analecta Bollandiana* 101 (3-4), 1983, pp. 417-9, p. 491.

⁵⁷ 'La *Vita Machutis* par Bili', ch. 57, p. 387; Robert Brown and David Yerkes, 'A Sermon on the Birthday of St Machutus', *Analecta Bollandiana* 99 (1981) pp. 160-4, p. 163.

⁵⁸ Borrowed passages are marked by Brown and Yerkes in their edition; Brown and Yerkes, 'A Sermon' pp. 161-4.

⁵⁹ For Alcuin's *Vita Vedastis* and the elevation of Vedast's status in the ninth century, see: Kreiner, *The Social Life of Hagiography*, p. 259 and p. 262.

manuscript (although it is theoretically possible that the scribe had access to an extensive *dossier* on Machutus, including an early copy of the *Life* and a sermon written some time later, based on the longer, interpolated *Life*). At present, it is perhaps best to keep an open mind about the sermon's authorship. It is clear however, that it was in being by the middle of the tenth century and, while it is unclear where it was written, Alet is a likely location. It is therefore a potential, though not certain, reflection of intellectual life at Alet c. 900.

Later receptions of Bili's work

Two later receptions of Bili's work will not be examined in detail. They are discussed briefly here first because they help to date both earlier redactions of Bili's work (see above) and the anonymous *vitae* Machutis. One, the Hereford copy of BVM serves briefly also to provide an epilogue on the development of Samson's and Machutus' cults, perhaps in the mid tenth century (see chapter 7). It contains interpolations by a later author. While it is not possible to provide exact dates for each interpolation, evidence within the text points to a dating of perhaps the middle of the century.⁶⁰ This text, too, represents an adapted, interpolated version of a copy of BVM similar to the Oxford copy, again helping to demonstrate that a version of BVM similar to this must have remained in being into the tenth century. The interpolated copy of Bili's *Vita Machutis* in HCL P. 7. vi contains a miracle in which a peasant asserts that Machutus *transmarinus est* (is beyond the sea).⁶¹ This probably refers to the relics departure for Anglo-Saxon England or Insular Britain. Circumstantial evidence suggests a likely period for this may have been when Alan II's father Matuedoi fled to Athelstan's court, sometime after 913, although it is of course entirely possible that Machutus' relics departed for England either earlier or later than Matuedoi.⁶² The author's awareness that the relics were 'beyond the sea' and the lack of any reference to events much later than this miracle may therefore indicate a date of writing no later than the middle of the century.

There is also a tenth-century Old English translation of Bili's work, made in Anglo-Saxon England. The translation contains small amounts of material probably present in the translator's Latin exemplar and probably written by Bili.⁶³ It is excluded from the thesis because the Old English passages focus on Machutus' virtues, but not ones that help to answer the thesis' more political questions. This translation does however seem to be based on a Latin version very close to that in Oxford, Bodl. 535,

⁶⁰ Jordan, 'A comparative exploration'.

⁶¹ HCL P. 7. vi, f. 65v.

⁶² Smith, *Province and Empire*, pp. 187-206. For a more detailed discussion, albeit with imperfect referencing, see: Chédeville and Guillotel, *La Bretagne*, pp. 353-402. For Matuedoi's exile, see: Smith, *Province and Empire*, pp. 196-7; Chédeville and Guillotel, *La Bretagne*, pp. 373-93.

⁶³ Poulin, *L'hagiographie bretonne*, pp. 152-3; Yerkes, *The Old English Life*, p. xxxv.

ff. 62-93r, demonstrating that a version of BVM very similar to this remained relatively stable for some time before tenth-century additions were made.⁶⁴

That the later receptions of Bili's work (AVM, the copy now preserved at Hereford and an anonymous Old English translation) are all descended, apparently independently, from the interpolated version found in Oxford, Bodl. 535 suggests that this was the most stable and perhaps the most widely disseminated incarnation of Bili's work. It may only have been during the disruption of the early tenth century that the text began to be adapted again in response to the cult's changing circumstances.

Conclusion

Much of Bili's oeuvre reflects the politics of Alet in the late 860s or early 870s as well as its intellectual life and the literary works available to its clergy. Chapters 51-75 meanwhile were probably interpolated a little later in the ninth century and so provide a glimpse of change at Alet over time. Comparing these chapters with earlier parts of the corpus may provide some idea of political and literary developments at Alet between c. 866 and the end of the ninth century. The sermon edited by Brown and Yerkes meanwhile remains difficult to date and should perhaps be treated, cautiously, as potential evidence of Bili's own thinking, with the reservation that it may in fact be the work of a successor at Alet or elsewhere. Finally, the unpublished copy of Bili's work preserved in the Hereford manuscript provides some reflection of Breton political developments in the early tenth century.

The anonymous *vitae Machutis*

The two anonymous *Lives* take Book I of Bili's work as their source text. They are similar to one another in content; indeed Poulin observes that the earlier of the two, the *vita brevior* (BHL 5117), reads almost as a rough draft of the later *vita longior* (BHL 5118a). The *vita brevior* rewrites and abridges Bili's work by more than half to present Machutus from a different political, and in some ways a different cultural, perspective from its hypotext. In particular, it removes Machutus' consecration at Tours, perhaps indicating the Saint-Malo monks favoured Dol's claims over those of Tours.⁶⁵ It also removes many of the Frankish-oriented passages, such as Machutus' visit to Luxeuil and many of the Aquitanian miracles.⁶⁶ It therefore provides a window into tensions between different factions of Machutus' cult and indeed simply into the different interests that seem to have

⁶⁴ Yerkes, *The Old English Life*, pp. xxxiv-xliv.

⁶⁵ 'La plus ancienne vie de saint Malo', ch. 8, pp. 304-5.

⁶⁶ For a summary of the differences between the two, see Poulin, *L'hagiographie bretonne*, pp. 171-77 and p. 183.

been pursued by two or more hagiographers writing at a similar time and place. The *vita longior* follows the *brevior* closely, with minor additions.⁶⁷

Since Bili's work continued to be used and probably interpolated at the cathedral of Alet into the early tenth century, the anonymous *Lives*' differing perspectives suggests they were produced at a different foundation for a different community. The most obvious contender is Machutus' neighbouring cult centre at the monastic community of Saint-Malo. Poulin believes that the anonymous *Lives* were written here, although he gives only a brief explanation for his reasoning, commenting mainly on their differing political approaches.⁶⁸ He observes that the anonymous *Lives* describe the geographical situation of Alet quite accurately and suggests the author was familiar with the city. Additionally, the same author removes responsibility for Machutus' appointment to the office of bishop from Festivus the priest to a monk, Aaron.⁶⁹ This re-writing, implicitly in favour of the monastic community, again hints that the author may have been a monk of Saint-Malo. Finally, the adoption of a legend more usually linked to St Cadoc, as well as the introduction of a link to Winchester in the anonymous *Lives*, suggests a milieu in contact with the Insular world, and hence a Breton, not a Frankish place of origin.⁷⁰

The anonymous *Lives*' local and Insular interests make it likely that they were composed before the monks of Saint-Malo fled to Paris probably c. 925.⁷¹ This provides a *terminus ante quem* for the anonymous *Lives* of c. 920. The interpolated version of BVM provides a *terminus post quem* perhaps as early as 875, and so too does the likelihood that the author of the *vita brevior* had read the *Vita Maglorii* (which I date to c. 870 in chapter 4). However, there is some (admittedly shaky and fragmentary) evidence that they were composed rather closer to c. 900, or perhaps during the early years of the tenth century. This is suggested by two features. First, both *Lives* claim that the town of Winchester was named after Machutus' father.⁷² This indicates that a link between the town of Winchester and the clergy of Saint-Malo had been established by the time the AVM were written. Although it is likely that the tenth-century Breton connections to Anglo-Saxon England reflected earlier diplomatic links, it is clear that these links became stronger as the ninth century moved into the

⁶⁷ This analysis is taken from Poulin, *L'hagiographie bretonne*, pp. 171-84.

⁶⁸ Poulin, *L'hagiographie bretonne*, pp. 171, 179 and 184.

⁶⁹ Compare 'La *Vita Machutis* par Bili' ch. 28, p. 371; 'La plus ancienne vie de saint Malo', ch. 15 and ch. 15 bis, pp. 312-3. See also Poulin, *L'hagiographie bretonne*, p. 172.

⁷⁰ For the reference to Winchester, see 'La plus ancienne vie de saint Malo', ch. 14, p. 311. The miracle from the *Vita Cadoci* has been identified by Caroline Brett in an unpublished paper given at Leeds in 2017. Compare: 'La plus ancienne vie de saint Malo', ch. 6, pp. 301-2 and *Vita Cadoci*, in Arthur Wade Evans, *Vitae Sanctorum Britanniae et Genealogiae*, (Cardiff, 1944) pp. 24-141. ch. 7, pp. 37-41.

⁷¹ This departure to Paris, of Machutus' as well as Maglorius' cult, is recounted in the *Translatio s. Maglorii Parisios*, edited by Hubert Guillotel, in 'L'exode du clergé breton', see pp. 310-5 for the edition of the *Translatio* and pp. 288-300 for the date of their departure for Paris.

⁷² 'La plus ancienne vie de saint Malo', ch. 14, p. 311; AVM *brevior*, Paris, BNF lat. 12404, ff. 239-246v, f. 243v.

tenth.⁷³ More importantly, the longer of the two AVM states that Machutus' relics were widely distributed and celebrated – a development not yet apparent in Bili's ambitious work. This statement may reflect an attempt to frame dispersal of the relics in more positive terms, although it gives no hint of the political disruption apparent in the interpolated, Hereford redaction.⁷⁴ If the AVM were indeed written in the early years of the tenth century, then they may provide insight into the evolution of Machutus' cult over time, as well as its differing treatment at the hands of the monks of Saint-Malo and the cathedral clergy of Alet.

Where the thesis refers specifically to the *vita brevior*, the sole manuscript copy, BNF lat. 12404, is used.⁷⁵ The *vita longior* was edited and published by Lot, based on three manuscripts. The text of the *vita longior* appears to be stable and Lot's edition seems to be a reliable reflection of its content.⁷⁶ This edition is therefore used in the thesis. For the most part, arguments in Part II of the thesis treat the *brevior* and *longior* as a single work. This is because the alterations they reflect are largely identical in each; where the *Lives* disagree, this is clearly stated.

Machutus' *dossier* reveals a considerable degree of rewriting and recasting of Bili's original text. This probably resulted from political tensions between Alet, Saint-Malo and Dol and the rapidly changing nature of the area's politics. Chapter 8 will study the tensions that gave rise to this repeated rewriting and recasting. Maglorius' *dossier* was influenced even more by these political tensions than Bili's work and its descendants. It is also however far more complicated and far less studied. The following chapter will attempt to unravel the stages in which it was written.

⁷³ It is only from the tenth century that we have firm evidence of Breton relics, texts and clergy in Anglo-Saxon England. For references, see: Smith, *Province and Empire*, pp. 196-8; Chédeville and Guillotel, *La Bretagne*, pp. 389-400. The most well-known instance of English-Breton co-operation perhaps is Edward the Elder's membership of the confraternity of Dol and Dol's gift to him of the relics, including those of Samson: William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum: the Deeds of the English bishops*, ed. and trans. M. Winterbottom with the Assistance of R. M. Thomson, (Oxford, 2007) pp. 596-9.

⁷⁴ 'La plus ancienne vie de saint Malo', ch. 31, p. 329.

⁷⁵ Paris, BNF lat. 12404, ff.239r-246v: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9080757q/f250.image>

⁷⁶ For an overview of the manuscript sources, see: 'La plus ancienne vie de saint Malo', p. 287 and Poulin, *L'hagiographie bretonne*, pp. 178-9. Poulin includes a brief review of Lot's edition.

Chapter 4: Sark, Dol, Léhon and Maglorius' dossier

Maglorius' hagiographical dossier

Perhaps the most complex of the Breton hagiographical dossiers is that of St Maglorius. Maglorius was feted as bishop of Dol and as hermit of Sark. According to his *Translatio*, his relics were housed at his monastery on Sark from his death until their removal to the Breton mainland during Nominoë's reign. By the end of the century, they were housed at the monastery of Léhon on the River Rance, in the diocese of Alet. It was here that much of his hagiography was written, although it is possible that the earlier part of it was written at an earlier mainland home of the cult, perhaps linked to Dol (see chapter 8).

Maglorius' hagiography is almost entirely a creation of the ninth (or early tenth) century and for the most part it reflects contemporary interests rather than earlier traditions. All five parts of it were written in mainland Brittany, probably between the late 860s and the early tenth century.¹ In a clear attempt to bolster Dol's interests, the *Vita* casts Maglorius as a cousin of Samson of Dol and later as bishop of Dol before he retires to Sark. Other, later parts of the dossier (the *Translatio*, *Aedificatio*, and most of the two *Miracula* collections) neglect Maglorius' links to Dol and focus instead on promoting his miracle-working powers both on Sark and on the mainland, and on documenting the development and property claims of his cult at Léhon. This creates the subjective impression that the cult moved more than once, first from Sark, perhaps to Dol, and then to Léhon, which belonged to Alet. Such (theoretical) moves would explain the political shift between the earlier and later parts of Maglorius' dossier, from support of Dol to neglect of its claims (again, these ideas are explored in chapter 8).

The cult on Sark and its translation to the mainland

The *Translatio* is clearly a literary creation. Its narrative contains elements typical of Carolingian relic theft accounts and so its content must to a greater or lesser extent have been manipulated to fit this emerging literary genre.² However, there is no reason not to believe its central claim that Maglorius' relics were removed from Sark and taken to the mainland in or around Nominoë's reign. Indeed, the collection's content itself supports this claim. Those parts of the collection set on Sark (appearing in the *Vita* and *Miracula*) tend to focus on the interests of an island community and to bear the hallmarks

¹ Poulin, *L'hagiographie bretonne*, pp. 199-234.

² For the seminal study on relic theft, see: Patrick Geary, *Furta Sacra: the Theft of Relics in the Central Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1991). For a study of specifically Carolingian translations, see: Pierre Riché, 'Translations de reliques à l'époque carolingienne: histoire des reliques de saint Malo', *Le Moyen Age* 82 (1976), pp. 201-18.

of orally-transmitted or folkloric tales. Two, for example, focus on the mishaps and practical dangers of sea-fishing, while another focuses on the healing of wounded animals.³ Others reflect the island's geography, accurately describing the proximity of the Sark monastery to a beach flanked by cliffs.⁴ This suggests that some of the cult's legends were probably taken from Sark itself and that the cult had had a long history there, although all the evidence suggests these tales survive in forms written on the mainland.

Sark may have been reputed as a sacred site long before the Roman occupation and later the British settlement of the Channel Islands.⁵ By the sixth century, like the Ile d'Agois on Jersey, it was home to an Insular-style hermitage similar to Skellig Michael off the south-west coast of Ireland.⁶ It is entirely possible, even probable, that Maglorius' ninth-century cult on the island traced its origins back to this sixth-century hermitage. The only (potentially) direct traces of this early hermitage in Maglorius' ninth-century hagiography are the saint's reputation as hermit and perhaps the descriptions of the coastal monastery, which his hagiographer accurately places on the cliffs overlooking the beach.⁷ This community would almost certainly have been Breton-speaking, in common with the Channel Island populations. Its political and ecclesiastical affiliations before the ninth century are unknown, although the Channel Islands are thought to have formed part of the diocese of Coutances in the Roman era. It is impossible to verify this claim, but it is logical given their position, close to the coast of the Cotentin.⁸

Dol too seems to have wielded influence over the Channel Islands, with the possible exception of Alderney, which lies far to the north of its neighbours and is not mentioned in Dol's hagiographical

³ The dichotomy between 'oral' or folkloric and written motifs should not be overstated. However, it has been demonstrated that oral motifs tend to appear where cults had a long-standing involvement with a cult site. In the absence of other evidence, they can therefore be a useful means of assessing how strong or historical a cult's links may have been to a given region. For oral and folkloric motifs, see: Catherine Cubitt 'Folklore and Historiography: Oral stories and the writing of Anglo-Saxon History', in R. Balzaretto and Tyler, eds. *Memory and Narrative in the Early Medieval West* (Turnhout, 2006), pp. 189-223; John Blair, 'A Saint for every minster?', in Balzaretto and Tyler, *Memory and Narrative* pp. 455-94 and Catherine Cubitt, 'Universal and Local Saints in Anglo-Saxon England', in *Local Saints and Local Churches in the Early Medieval West*, Alan Thacker and Richard Sharpe, eds. (Oxford, 2002) pp. 423-453. For oral and written motifs in specifically Breton saints' *Lives* and how they reflect a cult's links to a cult site, see: Smith, 'Oral and written', pp. 309-43. For apparently oral, folkloric motifs in Maglorius' dossier, see: *Vita Maglorii*, ch. 15; *Miracula Maglorii*, ch. 20-3 and ch. 24.

⁴ *Miracula Maglorii*, ch. 5-7. *Miracula Maglorii*, ch. 16 does not locate its narrative close to the monastery, but still accurately reflects the geography of Sark.

⁵ From conversation with Dr Richard Axton of the Société Serquaise. This aspect of Sark's history may be discussed in vol. 2 of Barry Cunliffe and Emma Durham, eds. *Sark: A Sacred Island* (Oxford, forthcoming)

⁶ For parallels with Skellig Michael and other Insular eremitic sites, see: Peter Johnstone 'An eremitic settlement on the Ile d'Agois', in Peter Johnstone, *The Archaeology of the Channel Islands*, (La Société Guernaise, Trowbridge, 1986) pp. 151-70, pp. 166-7.

⁷ *Miracula Maglorii*, ch. 5-8 and Johnstone 'An eremitic settlement on the Ile d'Agois'. For a description of the site, photographs and maps, see: Cunliffe and Durham, *Sark, A Sacred Island? vol.1: Fieldwork and excavations 2004-2017* (Oxford, 2019), pp. 39-43.

⁸ Cunliffe and Durham, *Sark, A Sacred Island? vol.1*, pp. 14-5.

output.⁹ Dol began life as a monastery founded close to Alet by St Samson. It seems to have been an interloper into an earlier Roman diocesan structure, probably founded to serve the Breton-speaking population who had recently arrived in Armorica.¹⁰ Dol seems to have been a monastery with a few outlying territories rather than a conventional diocese with jurisdiction over the surrounding area. It was nonetheless governed by a bishop (who presumably was simultaneously abbot of the monastery). There is no reason why Dol's influence over Breton settler communities could not have extended to communities on Guernsey, Jersey, Sark and Brecqhou. After all, linguistic evidence suggests that these islands, like mainland Brittany, were settled from Insular Britain by Brittonic speakers.¹¹ They also lay directly on the sea route from Dol to Insular Britain and the Seine region, where Dol possessed outlying monasteries.¹²

Historical evidence that Dol wielded influence on the islands is provided by the VPS. Its author claims that Samson persuaded the men of Guernsey and Jersey to travel to the Breton mainland to support Judual *dux* of Dumnonia in battle against the 'usurper' Conomor, '*Lesiam Angiamque ... petierunt. Atque homines multi sancto Samsoni satis cogniti eius hortatu unanimes cum Iudwalo uenerunt ad Britanniam ...*'¹³ Interestingly, this passing reference perfectly reflects Olson's theory that Dol wielded influence over Breton-speaking settler communities rather than over a geographically delineated diocese.

Carolingian reorganisation of Dol's and Alet's diocesan boundaries, and the beginnings of a broader shift towards geographically delineated parishes might explain many of the tensions over land and jurisdiction expressed in each of the hagiographies studied here.¹⁴ I suggest they could also explain the changing nature of Dol's claim to the Channel Islands. In keeping with these developments, the author of the mid-ninth century *Vita Secunda Samsonis* laid claim to the islands of Guernsey, Jersey, Sark and Brecqhou in the VSS, '*quatuor insulas marinas, id est, Lesiam, Angiamque, Sargiam, Besargiam Hildebertus rex atque imperator sancto Sansoni et suis fidelibus post se successoribusque eius tradidit*

⁹ Élisabeth Ridet briefly supports the case for Dol: 'Sur la route des Vikings: les îles Anglo-Normandes entre Bretagne et Normandie', in Magali Coumert and Yvon Tranvouez, eds. *Landévennec, les Vikings et la Bretagne. En hommage à Jean-Christophe Cassard* (Brest, 2015) p. 127-155, p. 136.

¹⁰ Lynette Olson, 'Introduction: 'Getting somewhere' with the first Life of St Samson of Dol', in Olson, *St Samson of Dol*, pp. 1-18', esp. pp. 11-15; For the Roman diocesan structure and its medieval evolutions, see: Pietri and Biarne, *Province ecclésiastique de Tours*, pp. 14-18; Chédeville and Guillotel, *La Bretagne*, pp. 113-15; Chadwick, *Early Brittany*, p. 244 and pp. 247-50.

¹¹ Richard Coates, *The Ancient and Modern Names of the Channel Islands* (Stamford, 1991).

¹² For Pental and Dol's links to the Seine region, see in particular: Jacques le Maho, 'Ermitages et monastères bretons dans la province de Rouen au haut Moyen Age (IVe-IXe siècle)', in Quaghebeur and Merdrignac, *Bretons et Normands*, pp. 65-96.

¹³ Flobert, *La vie ancienne de saint Samson*, Bk I, ch. 59, p. 233 (they reached...Guernsey and Jersey, and many men knew him well enough that at his command they went unanimously with Judwal to Brittany).

¹⁴ Anne Lunven, 'Christianisation and parish formation in early medieval France: a case study of the dioceses of Rennes, Dol and St Malo', in Tomás Ó Carragáin and Sam Turner, eds. *Making Christian Landscapes in Atlantic Europe: conversion and consolidation in the early middle ages* (Cork, 2016), pp. 325-44; Elisabeth Zadora-Rio, 'Parish boundaries and the illusion of territorial continuity in landscape archaeology: the evidence from the Touraine', in Ó Carragáin and Turner, *Making Christian Landscapes*, pp. 345-364.

*sine fine in possessionem aeternam ...*¹⁵ Unlike the VPS author, he refers to a grant of the islands themselves, rather than to influence over their people, suggesting that changes in the nature of diocesan jurisdiction as well as Dol's and Salomon's ambitions in the Cotentin may have led the clergy of Dol to lay claim to the four more southerly Channel Islands.

Around the time that Dol seems to have developed its ambitions in the Channel Islands, Maglorius' relics and perhaps the monks left Sark. It is unclear whether the relics alone travelled to the mainland in a theft similar to the one described by the *Translatio*, or whether the Sark community in fact moved voluntarily to the mainland with their relics. Both relic theft and voluntary migration of monastic communities were common. The latter, often linked in reality to new offers of land and patronage, was sometimes recast by cults as theft or a response to outside forces such as Viking raids.¹⁶ This makes it difficult to know whether Maglorius' relics were indeed stolen or instead moved by the Sark clergy in response to offers of patronage, perhaps by Nominoë or the bishops of Dol. Some communities moved locations repeatedly in response to such offers. Isabelle Cartron charts this phenomenon in her study of the cult of St Philibert, originally based at Noirmoutier in the south of the Breton march.¹⁷ Although such an extensive series of migrations is unlikely in Maglorius' case, it is not impossible that it made a smaller number of moves, perhaps from Sark to Dol to Léhon. I argue below that there is strong case for the cult and relics being resident at Dol or a closely allied foundation when the *Vita Maglorii* was written and that Maglorius' community later fell within the diocese of Alet, either as a result of the community relocating or perhaps of diocesan boundaries changing.

Parts of the dossier that focus on the mainland cult (the *Translatio*, *Aedificatio* and some of the *Miracula*) tend to locate their narrative in the very recent past and make no pretence that the cult had a long implantation in mainland Brittany. This suggests the cult was indeed a recent arrival there. Only one aspect of the dossier, the early part of the *vita*, focuses on the mainland in the more distant past. That this too is a ninth-century creation and not based on earlier or local traditions is clear from the fact that it is taken largely from the VSS and makes no claim to recall legends local to mainland Brittany.

¹⁵ Plaine, '*Vita antiqua*', Bk II, 16, pp. 135-6 (Childebert, king and emperor gave four islands of the sea, i.e. Guernsey, Jersey, Sark and Brecqhou, to St Samson and his followers and after him his successors in eternal possession without end).

¹⁶ Accounts of migrations of both relics and monastic communities often have dubious historical validity. Geary, *Furta Sacra* discusses how monasteries used literary accounts of theft, some perhaps fabricated, to promote their relics, pp. 56-86. Felice Lifschitz, 'The Migration of Neustrian Relics in the Viking Age: The Myth of Voluntary Exodus, the Reality of Coercion and Theft' in *Early Medieval Europe*, 4, 2 (1995), pp. 175-92 presents the phenomenon in reverse, exploring instances where a real theft was in fact presented as voluntary migration.

¹⁷ Isabelle Cartron, *Les pérégrinations de Saint-Philibert: Genèse d'un réseau monastique dans la société carolingienne* (Rennes, 2009). Cartron charts the successive movements of St Philibert's cult and relics, made largely in response to aristocratic patronage but sometimes recast by the cult as flight from Viking raids.

Maglorius/Melor/Méloire/Mélar

A plethora of saints Melor/Méloire/Mélar were celebrated in Brittany.¹⁸ Each name seems to be an early form of the Latin *Maglorius*, but it is unclear whether Melor/Méloire/Mélar and Maglorius represented one saint or many. Most are attested only in hagiography from the 11th century onward. Duine linked Melor not to Léhon or Dol, but to Lanmeur, an enclave of Dol in north-western Brittany, close to Morlaix.¹⁹ These late attestations, combined with the lack of evidence for a mainland cult predating the ninth-century cult at Dol and Léhon, suggest that these later references to Méloire/Mélar shed little light on Maglorius' ninth-century cult.

There is however one instance of a cult of a St Melor attested as early as the ninth century. Charters from the abbey of Redon make three references to the presence of Melor's relics, the first in 849 and the last in 878.²⁰ It is theoretically possible that the Melor of Redon was identical with Maglorius in the minds of the Redon and Léhon monks. Nominoë, for whom Maglorius' relics were supposedly stolen, patronised and indeed helped to found Redon.²¹ It is during his reign, towards the end of the 840s, that Melor's relics are first attested there. If the Melor feted at Redon was indeed believed to be the same individual as the Maglorius feted at Léhon, this would also explain the links between Redon and Léhon mentioned in the GSR and perhaps the GSR's implicit support for Dol's claims.²² The idea is intriguing and would make the story of Maglorius' cult on the mainland still more complex. Unfortunately, it is impossible to confirm whether or not the Melor of Redon and Maglorius were seen as a single individual. Because of this uncertainty, this study will focus only on Maglorius' presentation in his hagiographical dossier and not for the most part on his possible links to Redon.

Maglorius' dossier: Authorship, composition and dating

Maglorius' dossier is perhaps the lengthiest of the Breton hagiographical dossiers. It consists of a *Vita*, five or six miracle collections (depending how the collections are broken down), a *Translatio* describing the transfer of the saint's relics to the mainland and finally an account of the building of

¹⁸ For more information on Melor, see: Chédeville and Guillotel, *La Bretagne*, p. 17, p. 79 and p. 147 and Poulin, *L'hagiographie bretonne*, p. 462.

¹⁹ F. Duine, *Mémento des sources hagiographiques de l'histoire de Bretagne* (Rennes, 1918), no. 84, pp. 99-101.

²⁰ De Courson, ed. *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Redon*, ch. 59, p. 47, 18th February 849, ch. 269, p. 218, 28th December 878 and Appendix, ch. 36, p. 368, 3rd March 852. Each of the three Redon charters refers to the *corpora* of saints Melor, Marcellinus and Hypotemius, which may, though need not, imply that Redon possessed the entire body (*corpus*) of St Melor, rather than a smaller relic. If Maglorius and Melor were one and the same, this would have put them at odds with Léhon, which also claimed Maglorius' body. No such conflict is suggested in either foundations' hagiographies. Redon seems eventually to have abandoned its claims to Melor's relics in favour of those of Marcellinus and Hypotemius: Smith, *'Aedificatio sancti loci'*, pp. 361-96.

²¹ The GSR describes Nominoë's involvement in the founding of Redon and his subsequent patronage of the monastery: GSR, Bk I, ch. 1-2 and Bk II, ch. 5 and ch. 10. See also Smith, *'Aedificatio sancti loci'* and Bernard Merdrignac, 'Redon, le 'border' et La Borderie', *Études Celtiques* 36 (2008), pp. 149-75, esp. pp. 161-7.

²² GSR, Bk III, ch. 3, pp. 194-7.

Maglorius' monastery at Léhon. These have been edited in various forms, but never together, while only the *Translatio* and the ante- and post-mortem miracles were published in their entirety.²³ This imperfect state of publication may have impeded assessment of when and where the constituent parts of this collection were written and the order in which they were composed. I propose a new analysis of the collection's authorship and of the dating and place of writing of each of its different parts. I argue that the collection should be broken down into two Families of authorship.

Family 1

<i>Vita Maglorii</i> (BHL 5139)	Edited by Van Hecke as ' <i>Vita Maglorii</i> ', ch. 1-14	Appendix, <i>Vita</i> , ch. 1-14
<i>Miracula after the Vita</i> (BHL 5140/44)	Edited by Van Hecke as ' <i>miracula Maglorii</i> ', ch. 15-7	Appendix, <i>Miracula Maglorii</i> , ch. 1-3
First two of the three post-translation miracles (BHL 5143)	Edited partially by La Borderie, ch. 29-31	-

Hybrid chapters

Hybrid <i>Miracula</i> (BHL 5140/44)	Edited by Van Hecke as a continuation of his ' <i>miracula Maglorii</i> ' and so labelled ch. 18-26	Appendix, <i>Miracula Maglorii</i> , ch. 4-11
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Family 2

<i>Ante-mortem Miracula in Sargia insula</i> (BHL 5141)	Edited by La Borderie, ch. 1-10	Appendix, <i>Ante-mortem Miracula</i> , ch. 12-21
<i>Obitus</i> (BHL 5144)	Edited by Van Hecke as the <i>Obitus</i> , but following his	Appendix, <i>Obitus</i> ,

²³ For editions of the *Vita*, *Miracula after the Vita* and *Obitus*, see: van Hecke, 'De S. Maglorio'. For the ante- and post-mortem *Miracula*, *Translatio* and *Aedificatio*, see: La Borderie, 'Miracles de saint Magloire', pp. 230-338 and for the post-translation miracles, pp. 234-6.

	‘ <i>miracula Maglorii</i> ’ and so labelled ch. 27-8	
<i>Post-mortem Miracula in Sargia insula</i> (BHL 5141)	Edited by La Borderie, ch. 11-13	Appendix, <i>Post-mortem Miracula</i> , ch. 12-21
<i>Translatio</i> (BHL 5142)	Edited by La Borderie, ch. 14-22	Appendix, <i>Translatio</i> , ch. 1-9
<i>Aedificatio</i> (5146)	Edited by La Borderie, ch. 23-7	-
Last of the three miracles at Léhon (BHL 5143)	Edited by La Borderie, ch. 32	-

A political shift appears to occur part-way through the collection. The *Vita*, though admittedly not the *Miracula* after the *Vita*, is strongly supportive of Dol’s metropolitan claims, while the first two post-translation miracles implicitly refer to these claims. The hybrid *Miracula*, post- and ante-mortem *Miracula*, *Translatio*, *Aedificatio* and final post-translation miracle largely ignore them.

A second change occurs partly as a result of this political shift. The *Vita* is heavily reliant on Samson’s hagiography while the *Miracula* after the *Vita* and hybrid *Miracula* appear to be drawn from folklore from Sark.²⁴ This stands in contrast to the Family 2 *Miracula*, the *Translatio* and *Aedificatio*, which all but ignore Dol’s claims, Samson’s hagiography and the folklore of Sark. These are inspired instead by classical models, by the *Vita* and earlier *Miracula* and by typically Carolingian relic theft narratives.²⁵ In other words, the later parts of the dossier have a markedly different source base from its earlier parts. As I will demonstrate below, these later parts also make far more and far more subtle use of classical and Biblical sub-texts and quotations than do the earlier parts. This may be further evidence of a change in authorship.

The Family 1 author wrote the *Vita* and the *Miracula* after the *Vita*, which he introduced briefly himself (*libet adhuc de quibusdam uirtutum suarum*).²⁶ Then, perhaps some time later, he produced the first two of the post-translation miracles. Possibly, he wrote at Léhon, but if so he did not name it. It is more likely that he wrote at Dol, whose claims he supports. His work also has a substantial focus on pastoral care, suggesting perhaps that he wrote for a priestly community rather than a monastic one or failing that, at a community that firmly supported *correctio* and ecclesiastical reform.

²⁴ For support for Dol’s claims, see *Vita Maglorii*, ch. 1-7; for folklore, see *Miracula Maglorii*, ch. 1-3.

²⁵ For outlines of motifs found in accounts of relic translations, see: Geary, *Furta Sacra* and for Breton and Carolingian narratives, see: Riché, ‘Translations de reliques à l’époque carolingienne’.

²⁶ *Miracula Maglorii*, ch. 1 (it is pleasing now to dwell on some of his miracles).

The hybrid *Miracula* largely reflect the political and stylistic characteristics of Family 2, but may contain traces of Sark folklore and traces of the first author's style and preferred vocabulary. This might just suggest that they were recast by the Family 2 author based on material by his predecessor. These will be considered as 'hybrid' chapters, possibly resulting from the Family 2 author rewriting a version of these miracles written by his predecessor.

The Family 2 author wrote at Léhon. In light of the highly monastic focus of his work, he probably wrote for a largely or purely monastic community. He either wrote the 'hybrid' miracles from scratch, or more probably, rewrote them from a draft made by the Family 1 author. He then wrote the Family 2 *Miracula*, which he treats as an extension to the hybrid *Miracula* rather than as a separate collection in their own right. He was also the author of the *Obitus*, which Van Hecke and Poulin treat as an extension of the *Vita* and early *Miracula*. The author probably placed this, logically and chronologically, between the ante-mortem *Miracula* and post-mortem *Miracula*, where it remained in two of the three surviving manuscript copies.²⁷ He then, it seems, proceeded to produce the remainder of his oeuvre in a chronological order reflecting that of the events he described, the *Translatio* following the *Miracula* and the *Aedificatio* following the *Translatio*. This order is apparent from the texts themselves. The *Translatio* begins within an oblique reference to the *Miracula in Sargia insula*, 'Descriptis ... Maglorii ... miraculis et uirtutibus, qualiter corpus eius ad Britanniam ... ductum est ...'.²⁸ The *Aedificatio* then begins with reference to the *Translatio*, 'Postquam ... Maglorii ... corpus ... de Sargia insula ad Lehonium ... delatum est.'²⁹ The final post-translation miracle was quite possibly produced by the same author and appended, like his earlier miracle collections, to those of his predecessor rather than treated as a separate work in its own right. That it was added to the earlier two post-translation miracles some time after they were written is clear from the fact that the second miracle is introduced by its author as the last (*ultimum*).³⁰

The presence of these two distinct families, and more probably of two authors, was obscured because the author of Family 2 treated his own *Miracula*, both those set on Sark and the one at Léhon, as continuations to the miracle collections written by his predecessor. The Family 2 author opens the hybrid miracles with implicit reference to his predecessor's work, '*aliarum quoque miracula*'.³¹ Nor do any of the surviving manuscripts distinguish the second author's work from that of his predecessor.³² The existence of the two families of writing is evident however from the – very clear –

²⁷ Paris BNF lat. 15436, ff. 68v-69 and Paris BNF Arsenal. 1032, ff. 52r-52v.

²⁸ Now we have described the miracles and virtues of Maglorius, [we will describe] how his body was led to Brittany: *Translatio Maglorii*, ch. 1, lines 814-7.

²⁹ After ... the body ... of Maglorius ... was brought ... from the island of Sark to Léhon. La Borderie, 'Miracles de S. Magloire', pp. 243-4.

³⁰ Poulin, *L'hagiographie bretonne*, p. 218; post-translation miracle 4ii.

³¹ *Miracula Maglorii*, ch. 4, line 447, (and also of other miracles).

³² Paris, BNF lat. 15436, f. 68v, marks the start of chapter 4 with a capital, but no chapter heading and no suggestion that the passage forms the start of a new text; Paris, BNF lat. 5283, f. 177r treats the chapter in the same way. Paris, BNF lat. 11951

differences in the authors' styles, literary influences and political purposes. Characteristics of both authors only meaningfully combine in the 'hybrid chapters' – chapters 4-11 of the *Miracula*.

The question of whether these families each represent the work of a single author or of multiple authors must remain hypothetical and is perhaps less historically important than the differences in political outlook between the two Families. This is why I refer more to 'families' of composition than to individual authors. This change in composition style and probably in authorship may potentially reflect the cult moving from the patronage of Dol, whose claims Family 1 supports, to Léhon which lay in the diocese of Dol's rival Alet. New loyalties would explain Family 2's silence on the subject of Dol's ambitions and may explain what seems to be a hint of rivalry with Dol in the *Miracula*. The question of whether this change of patronage reflected a relocation from Dol (or an allied foundation) to Léhon, of whether Léhon itself changed hands, or of whether there is another explanation must also remain hypothetical, although there is certainly a case for arguing in favour of the cult relocating from Dol to Alet.

Political differences

The two groups of texts are distinguished most markedly by the difference in their attitudes to Dol's metropolitan ambitions and to the figure of Samson himself. Family 1 actively furthers Dol's ambitions, while Family 2 largely ignores them. The *Vita* was written largely to enhance and update both Dol's claims to metropolitan status and its claims to possession of the Channel Islands, Sark and Brecqhou (see chapters 8).³³ Indeed, for the first seven chapters of Maglorius' *Vita*, the emphasis is on Samson's, not Maglorius' sanctity, and it is Samson, not Maglorius, who drives the narrative, with Maglorius merely following in his footsteps.

The first two post-translation miracles are more veiled in their support for Dol's metropolitan ambitions. Nonetheless, they arguably express implicit support for these claims by placing Maglorius (a former archbishop of Dol, according to his *Vita*) on terms of equality with St Martin, patron of Dol's metropolitan rival, Tours.³⁴ Family 2, in contrast, barely acknowledges the existence of Samson, Dol, their claims to metropolitan status or Dol's claim to Sark.

does not demarcate chapters or use enlarged initials in the *Miracula*, and chapter 18 is not differentiated from the text before or after it in any way. Paris BNF lat. 6003 only occasionally marks the start of new chapters or sections with a capital (e.g. '*Finito autem*', f. 70v and '*Rex autem*', f. 71r). In this manuscript copy, the text of the *Vita* breaks off midway through chapter 14 and recommences just after the start of chapter 18 (*Itaque cum praefati uir*), with *Itaque* marked by a small capital (70r). In none of these manuscripts is there any indication that a new text, or the work of a new author, has commenced. For the post-translation miracles: Paris, BNF lat. 15436, f. 75r opens the final miracle with a chapter heading and initial, just as it begins the two preceding miracles. The final, most complete manuscript, Paris, BNF Arsenal 1032, which contains both 1c) and 4) could not be consulted.

³³ Julia Smith has already noted that Dol appropriated Maglorius' cult for its own ends, although she does not elaborate on how: Julia M. H. Smith, 'Maglorius' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004).

³⁴ Post-mortem miracle 1.

Difference in source-texts and inspiration

These political differences are underlined by, and probably explain different approaches to, Samson's hagiography between these two groups of texts. The *Vita* in particular relies heavily on Dol's hagiography, chiefly the VSS, to make its argument in favour of Dol's metropolitan claims. Its literary debt to Samson's cult is explicit. Indeed, the narrative of the first seven chapters of the *Vita* is taken essentially from the VSS while a further chapter refers the reader to Samson's (now lost) *gesta*.³⁵ Family 2, in contrast, echoes only one miracle from Samson's cult and then only in veiled and unacknowledged form, and Samson is wholly absent from the narrative.³⁶ The decision to paraphrase and not to acknowledge Samson's *Vita* may be significant and may hint at a reorientation of the cult's loyalties away from supporting Dol to viewing Dol as a rival.

It is uncertain why hagiographers sometimes paraphrased a neighbouring cult's hagiography rather than quoting from it verbatim or acknowledging the other cult's presence in the region. No doubt there were multiple reasons why this might happen. One potential explanation is rivalry and an unwillingness to seem to pay homage to a rival cult viewed through explicit reference or quotation. This may be why Bili echoes but does not quote the *vitae Samsonis*, apparently in order to cast Machutus as an 'improved' Samson, one more loyal to the Breton than to the Frankish leader.³⁷ Caroline Brett has suggested that rivalry may be a potential explanation for the way that the VPS, in places, very faintly echoes the narrative of Jonas' *Life* of Columbanus and even more so for the way it takes the shape and content of some of its narrative from the *Vita Paterni*.³⁸

Rivalry with Dol over possession of all or part of Jersey may therefore explain why Maglorius' hagiographer paraphrased Samson's killing of a serpent, in a miracle that takes place on the island and results in the grant of one seventh of Jersey to Maglorius' cult.³⁹ Perhaps Maglorius' hagiographer intended to indicate that in the matter of expelling serpents and protecting the islanders of Jersey, Maglorius was every bit as good as Samson. This is of course speculative, but if correct it would be further evidence of the reorientation of Maglorius' cult's loyalties, a reorientation already suggested by its hagiographer's abandonment of Dol's claims. This sudden cessation of overt references to Dol and Samson and potential rivalry with Dol may have resulted from a transfer of Maglorius' relics

³⁵ *Vita Maglorii*, ch. 3a, line 101.

³⁶ There is a single reference to Samson in the *Miracula*, ch. 12 line 269. This chapter states only that St Sulinus was as well-educated as Samson.

³⁷ Poulin, *L'hagiographie bretonne*, p. 161, also lists several possible instances where Bili may make unacknowledged borrowings from the VSS.

³⁸ Brett, 'The Hare and the Tortoise', p. 92 for parallels with Jonas' work and p. 88 for those with the *Vita Paterni*. Paternus was the patron of Avranches, around 40km to the north-east of Dol.

³⁹ *Miracula Maglorii*, ch. 18-9.

from a (hypothetical) home at Dol to Léhon in the diocese of Alet or less probably, from Léhon changing hands from Dol to Alet.

More significantly, and more interestingly for the reader, Family 2 uses its source texts to create sub-texts, allusions and layers of meaning in ways that Family 1 seems not to do. In some instances, these intertextual references are brief, formed perhaps of no more than well-chosen quotations. For example, when Vikings appear on Sark in the ante-mortem *Miracula*, the inhabitants offer to lay out their ‘sweet souls’ in sacrifice to defend the island – a pitiable comparison to the cattle of Virgil’s *Georgics* waiting to be slain.⁴⁰ Quotations in the *Aedificatio* meanwhile link the building of the church at Léhon with the building of the temple in Jerusalem, recounted in the Book of Ezra: *templum idoneum, quadratos lapides ferro politos, operi aptos*.⁴¹ This is not a particularly complex allusion but serves implicitly to make Léhon a new Jerusalem.

A number of extensive sub-texts appear, far more complex and subtle than any Family 1 has to offer. The most persuasive appears in the first chapter of the ante-mortem *Miracula*, which is worth relating for entertainment as much as to illustrate the author’s style. The chapter recounts that St Sulinus has a friend, a monk who is also the monastery cook.⁴² This cook has fallen in love with a ‘harlot’ (*scorpium*) who lives on the opposite side of the river Rance to Saint-Sulinus’ monastery. One evening the cook attempts to swim across the Rance to visit her.⁴³ Part way across the ford, the monk is savaged by an eel. A serpent would have symbolised the diabolic temptation behind the monk’s decision to cross the ford. A spell of time inside a whale would have been a fitting prompt to repentance, mirroring the experience of the Biblical Jonah. A fish would have been the traditional creature for the Polycrates’ ring motif that follows.⁴⁴ An eel has none of this spiritual or folkloric significance. In fact, its only obvious characteristic is its phallic shape – why else choose an eel when, say a bad-tempered crab might have done just as well? The tale is clearly humorous and intended to mock Sulinus’ cult.

⁴⁰ *Miracula Maglorii*, ch. 15, line 314; Virgil, *Georgics*, Bk III, line 495.

⁴¹ Cuthbert’s *vitae* create a similar sub-text using Biblical imagery of building, albeit played out at greater length throughout the entire *vitae*: Sandra Duncan, ‘Signo de caelo in the Lives of St Cuthbert: the impact of Biblical images and exegesis on early medieval hagiography’, *Heythrop Journal*, 41(4) (2000) pp. 399-412; *Vita sancti Cuthberti auctore anonymo*, in Bertram Colgrave, ed. *Two Lives of St Cuthbert*, (Cambridge, 1985) pp. 59-140 and *Vita sancti Cuthberti auctore Beda*, in *ibid*, pp. 141-308. For *templum idoneum*, see: Bede, *In Ezra et Neemiam*, Bk III, line 1556; for *quadratos lapides ferro politos*, see: Ezra, 6, v; for *operi aptos*, see: Bede, *de templo libri*, Bk II, line 1251.

⁴² *Miracula Maglorii*, ch. 12.

⁴³ The author is clearly referring to Saint-Suliac, which lay close to a Roman ford across the Rance. See: Jean-Yves Eveillard, *Les Voies Romaines en Bretagne* (Morlaix, Skol Vreizh, 2016), p. 85.

⁴⁴ For the motif in hagiography, see: Bernard Merdrignac, *Recherches sur l’hagiographie armoricaine du VIIe au XVe siècle. vol. 2: Les hagiographes et leurs publics en Bretagne au Moyen Age* (Dossiers du CeRAA, supplément no 1, Saint-Malo, 1986), p. 68.

This mockery might explain the quotation from Virgil's *Georgics* that appears as the miracle unfolds: *durus amor magnum uersabat in ossibus ignem, nec miseri parentes neque moritura super crudeli funere uirgo...*⁴⁵ The quotation is taken from a passage in the *Georgics* that describes, briefly, the tale of the doomed Lysander, who attempts to ford the Hellespont to meet his lover Hero.⁴⁶ The *Georgics* allude to the tragic tale only briefly, listing Hero and Lysander (unnamed) alongside wild boar and mares as one among many examples of animal lust. The quotation has been chosen deliberately as a further, scathing comment on the monk of Saint-Suliac. By basing his tale on that in the *Georgics* rather than the more refined and heroic original of Hero and Lysander, the hagiographer implicitly compares the monk of Saint-Suliac to an animal.

More straight-forward, Biblical allusions appear, but these too reveal a complexity generally absent from Family 1. Again, just one might suffice to illustrate this point. In the final miracle of the *Translatio*, a tree that gives bitter apples suddenly provides sweet fruit after Maglorius' body is laid beneath it.⁴⁷ The miracle takes place immediately after the relic thieves' flight from Sark, pursued by the islanders. The author uses quotations as well the motif of bitter fruit turned sweet to hint at various interpretations of the miracle.

The sweetening of the apples echoes the discovery of sweet water at Marah after the Israelites' flight from Egypt. The miracle therefore implicitly compares the thieves to the Israelites fleeing from Egypt (Sark) to Israel (the mainland).⁴⁸ Implicitly, the mainland is the promised land and Sark a place of persecution, so the theft is implicitly justified. Yet the miracle is more complex than this, since it also echoes the Fall. The sweetness of the apples is discovered only after one of the thieves disobeys advice from the tree's owner not to taste them. More explicitly, the hagiographer refers to the 'deed of the first temptation' towards the end of the miracle, echoing a phrase used by both Bede and Alcuin (*reatu prime preuaricatione*).⁴⁹ Implicitly, this passage suggests that the monks are blessed rather than punished for the 'sin' of stealing Maglorius' relics. Indeed the miracle hints through its references to the Fall at the forgiveness of original sin. These multiple layers of meaning and literary complexity seem to be typical of the Family 2 author's style and absent from the more straight-forward Family 1. Quite aside from any political interpretation, these allusions to Biblical passages of course have a spiritual and moral import.

Literary characteristics of Family 1

⁴⁵ *Miracula Maglorii*, ch. 12, lines 275-6 ([because] hard love kindled a great fire in his bones, neither his miserable parents nor the prospect of the girl dying a cruel death [called him back from the sin].)

⁴⁶ Virgil, *Georgics*, Bk III, vs 257-63.

⁴⁷ *Translatio*, ch. 9.

⁴⁸ For the waters of Marah, see: Exodus, ch. 15.

⁴⁹ *Translatio*, ch. 9, line 940. See note 447 for details on the source quotation.

Family 1 displays a fascination with the revolving nature of time and its markers – the cycles of the moon, sun and stars. The *Prologue* in particular and also post-translation miracle 2 focus on comparisons with the sun and moon, while stars appear in the *Vita*.⁵⁰ Its author is interested too in liminality, especially in the shore that marks the gap between sea and land. This interest is sometimes apparent within the main body of the narrative.⁵¹ However, it is drawn out far more in a series of commentaries.⁵² These are made up of rhetorical questions, many following consistent forms: *Quid ... autem? Quis ... nisi? Qui ...?*⁵³ Each seeks an allegorical interpretation of the material on which they comment, often drawing out the themes of recurring time and liminality. These commentaries link the *Prologue*, the *Vita*, chapters 1-3 of the miracles and the first two of the post-translation miracles.⁵⁴ Both these themes and the commentary form are absent from Family 2, although chapters 4-11 of the *Miracula* contain a few questions faintly reminiscent of the *quid...nisi* question form (see below), possibly indicating that a passage of commentary may have been edited and rewritten when the hybrid chapters were created.⁵⁵ This fascination, although distinctive, might potentially be attributed to a difference in the purpose or audience of the *vita* and post-translation *Miracula*. A difference in authorship is suggested nonetheless by the repetition of a number of words and phrases unique to this Family.

The phrases *in quo siquidem loco, se sopori dare, in somnis apparuit* and *silentio abscondit* all appear in the first two post-translation miracles as well as in the *Vita*, but never in Family 2.⁵⁶ In addition, some individual words appear repeatedly that would normally be too commonplace to attract attention. However, the sheer frequency with which they appear in the *Vita* and earlier post-translation miracles and their total absence from the remainder of the dossier suggests they may be verbal ‘tics’ characteristic of one individual (the Family 1 author) but quite alien to the style of his successor. Fillers such as *siquidem* and *scilicet* are used repeatedly in Family 1 but are wholly absent from Family 2, which generally has a much tighter style.⁵⁷ *Tegmen, agmen* and *reuoluare* each appear

⁵⁰ For the sun and moon, see: *Prologue*, lines 19-22, 32 -4 and 45-52 and post-translation miracle, 2b, lines 131-2. For stars, see: *Vita Maglorii*, ch. 5b, line 193 and post-translation miracle 2b, lines 135-6.

⁵¹ *Miracula Maglorii*, ch. 1-3 take place on the shore.

⁵² For the shore, see *Vita Maglorii*, ch. 3b and 5b and especially *Miracula* 3b. Almost all the Family 1 *miracula* and those in the hybrid chapters 4-11 refer to and take place along the shore.

⁵³ (How...also? Who...except? Who?)

⁵⁴ There are multiple instances of each, see: *Prologue*, *Vita Maglorii*, ch. 3b, ch. 5b, and *Miracula* ch. 3.b and post-translation miracle 2, BNF, lat. 15436, f. 74.

⁵⁵ *Miracula Maglorii*, ch. 5.

⁵⁶ For *in quo siquidem loco*, see: *Vita Maglorii, Prologue*, line 10, ch. 13, line 317 and post-translation miracle 1, line 42. For *se sopori dare*, see: *Vita Maglorii*, ch. 14, line 334 and post-translation miracle 1, lines 15-6. For *in somnis apparuit*, see: *Vita Maglorii*, ch. 6, 215-6 and ch. 14, line 335-6 and post-translation miracle 1, line 16. For *silentio abscondit*, see *Vita Maglorii*, ch. 5a, lines 169-70 and post-translation miracle 2, line 79.

⁵⁷ For *siquidem*, see: *Prologue*, lines 10, 57, 66; *Vita*, ch. 4, line 147, ch. 10, line 260, ch. 13, line 317 and post-translation miracle 1, line 42. For *scilicet*, see: *Vita*, ch. 1, line 77, ch. 8, line 235, ch. 10, line 259, ch. 12, line 300, *Miracula* ch. 1, line 14, ch. 3b, lines 411 and 425 and post-translation miracle 1.

several times in Family 1, uniquely in the *Vita*, miracles (chapter 1-3) and post-translation miracles.⁵⁸ The author of Family 1 also makes repeated use of verbs with the stem -izare: *baptizare*, *dogmatizare*, *euangelizare*, *agonizare*; again, these are absent from Family 2.⁵⁹ These differences in style and vocabulary cannot convincingly be attributed to a difference in theme or audience and seem instead to suggest that the *Vita*, chapters 1-3 of the *Miracula* and the two earlier post-translation miracles were the work of a single author, while another hagiographer was responsible for the remainder of the *dossier*.

Stylistic characteristics of family 2

The stylistic characteristics of Family 2 are perhaps harder to pin down. This family is most characterised by its abandonment of Dol's claims and the absence of the commentaries that mark Family 1. Nonetheless, it betrays some stylistic tendencies of its own. This family contains instances of Greek vocabulary often rare in Latin writing: *epimēnia*, *archimagirus*, *diasyrtica*.⁶⁰ Greek vocabulary that appears in Family 1 is either slightly more common or taken from passages that echo Christian sources, e.g. *allophilos*, which although rare, echoes Judges, 15, xvi and *ergastulum*, which echoes Exodus, chapter 6, vi-vii and later Bede.⁶¹ Similarly, the verbs *euangelizare* and *baptizare* used in Family 1 seem too commonplace in medieval Latin to count as distinctively Greek vocabulary.

A further characteristic of Family 2 is the number of classical sources it uses. The *Miracula in Sargia insula* and *Translatio* include quotations not only from works by better-known authors such as Virgil but also quotations from authors not otherwise quoted by Breton hagiographers, such as Horace and Lucan.⁶² These quotations are often lengthy and are used in ways that suggest the author was familiar with their original context. This therefore suggests he had access to all or part of the original work, and not merely to a compendium of useful literary phrases of the kind medieval authors used to aid their composition.⁶³

⁵⁸ For *tegmen*, see: *Vita*, ch. 5b, line 202, ch. 9, line 242 and post-translation miracle 1, line 33. For *agmen*, see: *Vita*, ch. 12, line 311, *Miracula Maglorii*, ch. 2, line 31 and post-translation miracle 2. *Agmen* also appears in the possible hybrid chapter of the *Miracula*, ch. 4, line 139. For *reuoluare*, see: *Prologue*, line 67, *Vita*, ch. 5c, line 209, ch. 9 line 244, *Miracula* ch. 2, line 19, ch. 3.a, line 34, ch. 3.b, line 437 and post-translation miracle 2b.

⁵⁹ See: *Vita Maglorii*, ch. 1, line 80, ch. 31, line 95, ch. 5, line 174, ch. 8, 230, ch. 10, lines 254 and 265. *Dogmatizare* also appears in the hybrid *Miracula*, ch. 3, line 121.

⁶⁰ *Epimēniis*: *Miracula Maglorii*, ch. 8, line 201; *archimagirus*: *Miracula Maglorii* 12, line 270; *diasyrticam*, *Translatio Maglorii*, ch. 3, line 36.

⁶¹ For *allophilos*, *Vita Maglorii*, ch. 3b, line 106, which echoes Judges, 15, 16 and *ergastulum*, *Miracula Maglorii*, ch. 3.b, line 101, which echoes Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, Bk IV, ch. 9, p. 244, line 12. It is not impossible the author had read Bede, but it seems more likely that he echoed the phrase *ergastulo carnis* from a source to which Bede also had access.

⁶² For Horace, see: *Miracula Maglorii*, ch. 8, lines 205-6; for Lucan, see: *Miracula Maglorii*, ch. 19, lines 352-5. There are also a number of quotations from Virgil's *Aeneid*, see esp. *Translatio Maglorii*, ch. 7 and the Georgics, see esp. *Miracula Maglorii* ch. 13, lines 275-6. The author quotes frequently from Virgil, see in particular *Translatio*, ch. 7 and *Miracula*, ch. 15.

⁶³ For such compendia, see: François Kerlouégan, 'Les citations d'auteurs latins chrétiens', pp. 252-4.

Classical sources are absent from Family 1 with the exception of two faint echoes, both only two words long: *exciendam doloris*, taken from Cicero and *agmina omnem*, taken from Virgil.⁶⁴

Although it is possible the Family 1 author had access to entire copies of classical works, it is more likely that he took these quotations from a compendium of literary phrases. This may also be where he came across the highly unusual Gaulish term *padus*, which occurs only in Pliny, an author not otherwise cited in the Breton canon of the first millennium.⁶⁵

The final parts of the dossier

The first two post-translation miracles, as explained above, match the political and stylistic characteristics of Family 1. The final post-translation miracle and the *Aedificatio* were written after the *Translatio* and echo its descriptions of Léhon.⁶⁶ They largely mirror the political and literary characteristics of Family 2, although perhaps as a result of their brevity they display less of the Greek vocabulary and none of the classical sources that also mark this family. The only persuasive example is *carbasa* (flax, hemp or implicitly in this instance, ‘sail’) which occurs both in the *Translatio* and in the last of the post-translation miracles.⁶⁷ This difference in vocabulary and sources leaves open the possibility that they were written by different authors. The question of authorship, as opposed to which political ‘family’ they belong to is however largely academic. On political grounds, and since they were clearly written after the *Miracula* and *Translatio* that form this family, they can safely be grouped with the Family 2 – the later parts of the dossier.

Hybrid chapters

Chapters 4-11 are puzzling and their authorship is less easy to place, since they share characteristics of both Families of writing. Family 2 seems to dominate. First, they contain a vast number of the phrases echoed in later parts of Family 2: *ignotum pondus auri et argenti, literalibus studiis satis imbutus, sagaci inuestigatione*.⁶⁸ Second, they contain some echoes of classical sources, although these are fewer than in some sections of the *Miracula in Sargia insula* or *Translatio*.⁶⁹ Third, they

⁶⁴ For *exciendam doloris*, see: *Vita Maglorii*, ch. 10 line 250 and for *agmina omnem*, see: *Vita Maglorii*, ch. 12, line 314.

⁶⁵ For *padus* see: *Vita Maglorii*, ch. 5b, line 198. Pliny is not listed in the ‘Index Personarum’ to Poulin’s *L’hagiographie bretonne*, which includes classical authors cited by Breton hagiographers, see pp. 486-90.

⁶⁶ For *piniferas* and *pomiferas*, see: *Translatio*, ch. 4, line 857 and ch. 8, line 908 and *Aedificatio*, ch. 22.

⁶⁷ Both contain either words of Greek origin or more obscure, specialist vocabulary, but these are not so unusual as those that appear earlier in the corpus, see: *carbasa* in the post-translation miracle 3 (I have not been able to find *carbasa* in the online manuscript copy of the post-translation miracles. Poulin however notes that it is there and is probably correct in his reading, *L’hagiographie bretonne*, p. 220) and *bitumen* in the *Aedificatio*, ch. 25, p. 245.

⁶⁸ *Vita Maglorii*, ch. 3 lines 536 and 460 and chapter 14, line 472.

⁶⁹ *Miracula Maglorii*, ch. 4, line 109 ‘*capiat exordium*’ echoes Cicero, *De legibus*, Archive of Celtic Latin Literature, Bk I, p. 383, par. 8, line 34. Lines 205-6 contain the quotation from Horace mentioned above and ch. 10, lines 229-30, ‘*dives opum*’ echoes Virgil’s *Aeneid*.

contain a quantity of little-used Greek vocabulary: *ephebi*, *epimonia*, *bubulcus*.⁷⁰ This might indicate that they were written solely by the author of Family 2.

Uniquely among the chapters classified here as part of Family 2, these chapters contain a number of characteristics of Family 1 as well as of Family 2. They contain a noun with the stem *-men*, ‘*agmen*’ and a verb with a stem in *-izare* (*dogmatizans*), both reminiscent of the vocabulary of Family 1 and otherwise absent from Family 2.⁷¹ In this section, too, the author echoes the rhetorical form of the commentaries in Family 1, this time placed in the mouth of the saint rather than the anonymous hagiographer.⁷² Maglorius asks his cellarer, ‘*Quis satiauit?... Quis ... reseruauit?... Quis ... iussit aquas?*’ before going on to answer his own question, ‘*Nempe uirtus Domini nostri Iesu Christi ...*’. This rhetorical, ‘who ...’ question form strongly echoes the glosses of Family 1, only here it does not appear in commentary form, but is written into the main text.

It is possible therefore that these chapters were drafted by the Family 1 author, hence the ‘commentary’ type questions and hints of vocabulary typical of Family 1, but rewritten by the Family 2 author, which would explain the exotic, Greek vocabulary, the echoes of classical sources and the recasting of the commentary-type questions to form part of Maglorius’ rather than the narrator’s speech. Unfortunately, in the absence of any surviving hypotext by the Family 1 author, this must remain speculative. These chapters will therefore be grouped as part of Family 2, since they most clearly bear the stamp of the author of the *Miracula* and *Translatio*.

Order of writing

Family 1 was written first and Family 2 later. This ordering is easy to establish since, helpfully, the author of Family 2 treated his own *Miracula*, both those on Sark and his single post-translation miracle at Léhon, as extensions of his predecessor’s, and did so with implicit reference to his predecessor’s work. Chapter 4 begins ‘*Aliarum quoque virtutum insignia*’, referring to his predecessor’s miracles, ending at chapter 3.⁷³ The remainder of Family 2 follows, seemingly reflecting the chronological order of the events it narrates: first, miracles that take place on Sark during the saint’s lifetime, then the *Obitus* recounting the saint’s death, post-mortem *Miracula*, the *Translatio*, describing the removal of the saint’s relics to Brittany, and finally the *Aedificatio* of the church at Léhon.

⁷⁰ *Ephebi*: *dives opum*, ch. 5, line 147; *epimonia*: *Miracula Maglorii*, ch. 8, line 201; *bubulcus*: *Miracula Maglorii*, ch. 9, line 217.

⁷¹ *Agmen*, *Miracula Maglorii*, ch. 2, and ch. 4 and *dogmatizans* *Miracula Maglorii*, ch. 3, line 121.

⁷² *Miracula Maglorii*, ch. 2, lines 138-4, (What...filled?...What...held back?...What ordered the waters...? Unless the power of our lord, Jesus Christ...).

⁷³ *Miracula Maglorii*, ch. 4, line 107.

Where do the first two of the post-translation miracles fit into this? The lengthy commentary at the end of chapter 3 of the *Miracula in Sargia insula* ends by expressing the community's hopes of resurrection – a fitting end to a miracle collection.⁷⁴ This suggests the first two post-translation miracles may have been written as a separate collection to the *Miracula* after the *Vita*, albeit by the same author. There are reasons to believe they were written a little later than these earlier *Miracula*. They treat the cult's and Dol's ambitions differently, suggesting that a political shift had occurred between composition of the main body of Family 1 and the post-translation miracles. The second of the post-translation miracles meanwhile is announced as the last in the collection, making it clear that miracle 3 was added some time later, probably by the author of Family 2.⁷⁵

Dates and places of composition

Place

Maglorius' known ninth-century cult sites are Sark and Léhon, although Léhon is mentioned in his hagiography only once, at the start of the *Aedificatio*.⁷⁶ Family 1 makes no reference to a translation to the mainland, but nonetheless, there are reasons to believe it was written in mainland Brittany. First, it was probably written around 870 (see below). If Family 2's claim that the relics were translated from Sark to the mainland during Nominoë's reign (c. 830-851) are to be believed, then the cult must have resided on the mainland for around twenty years when Family 1 was composed. Second, the first post-translation miracle refers to pilgrims from the region of Tours visiting Maglorius' relics. In it, an angel directs the Frankish pilgrims to Maglorius' relics, housed beyond the '*limes Britanniae*' (the borders of Brittany) but makes no reference to an island shrine. This seems to imply the relics were on the mainland when the post-translation miracles were written. Finally and perhaps most persuasively, the texts' preoccupation with Dol's interests raises the possibility that they were written at Dol or a closely allied foundation.

The *Vita Maglorii* does not only support Dol's metropolitan ambitions, but also its claim to the Channel Islands, providing further grounds to link its composition to Dol. By acquiring the relics of the patron of Sark and Brecqhou, and by writing his claim to land on both islands into his hagiography, the clergy of Dol would have been able to consolidate the claims they made to both islands in the VSS. Moreover, it would have been particularly important to them to produce a written

⁷⁴ *Miracula Maglorii*, ch. 3.b, 'lines 105-6 *'quatinus in huius uitae excursu ... ut in caelestibus cum ipso et cum omnibus sanctus, mereamur...'* (that having run the course of this life, we may be worthy to rejoice ... with him and all the saints in the heavens).

⁷⁵ Post-translation miracle 2.

⁷⁶ *Aedificatio*, ch. 23.

claim to Sark and Brecqhou, since unlike Guernsey and Jersey, these islands are not mentioned in the VSS. The *Vita Maglorii* therefore provides consolidation and extension of claims Dol makes in the VSS not only to metropolitan status but also to land in the Channel Islands. The evidence that the *Vita Maglorii* was produced at Dol or a closely allied foundation is circumstantial, but nonetheless overwhelming.

The final post-translation miracle and the *Aedificatio* state more than once that Maglorius' relics are housed at Léhon, apparently addressing his work to a monastic community there.⁷⁷ If the *Miracula* and *Translatio* were by the same author, this would suggest the entirety of Family 2 was composed at or for Léhon in the diocese of Alet. Composition at Léhon would also account for the dossier's sudden loss of interest in Dol's ambitions.⁷⁸ It was therefore most probably at Léhon that Family 2 was produced, perhaps (though not necessarily) after a hypothetical move from Dol.

There are hints within the text that the two Families may have been written for different types of community, perhaps lending some credence to the idea that the cult moved locations. Family 1 depicts Maglorius and also Samson first in clerical, pastoral settings and later, after Maglorius' abdication, in a monastic setting (though always in fact based in an *ecclesia* not a *monasterium*).⁷⁹ The decision to place Maglorius in a clerical setting before his abdication probably reflects the idea that this was the more suitable environment for a 'reformed' bishop devoted to pastoral care (see chapter 6). The persistence in using *ecclesia* rather than *monasterium* after Maglorius' abdication may, although it need not, hint that the *Vita* was written for a clerical as well as or even instead of a monastic audience. The same author presents the ninth-century mainland cult in much the same way, again depicting both clerics and monks serving an *ecclesia*.⁸⁰ Interestingly, *clerici* appear in the first post-translation miracle and *monachi* in the second. This raises the possibility that the cult became largely monastic during the lifetime of the Family 1 author, although unfortunately there is not enough evidence to confirm whether this was the case or not, or whether the references to *clerici* and *monachi* reflect co-existing arms of the same cult.

⁷⁷ Post-translation miracle 3; *Aedificatio*, ch. 23.

⁷⁸ Poulin has tentatively raised the possibility that the author was an itinerant hagiographer and also responsible for the *Vita Secunda Melanii*. This is a perfectly plausible suggestion, although impossible to prove without a close study of the *Vita Secunda Melanii*. Interestingly, perhaps, many of the sources used in Family 2 are only otherwise attested in Brittany at Landévennec, whose monk Wrdisten produced the VPA for St-Pol, around 150km to the west. If an itinerant hagiographer or one working at Landévennec was responsible for Family 2 this would of course have implications for any scholar attempting to date and interpret the collection. See Poulin, *L'hagiographie bretonne*, pp. 248-51 and pp. 258-9.

⁷⁹ The separation in monastic and pastoral roles is discussed briefly in the introduction. For Maglorius' and Samson's companions as clerics, not monks, see: *Vita Maglorii*, ch. 3a, line 96. For Maglorius' companions as monks after his abdication, see: *Vita Maglorii* ch. 13, line 319. For *ecclesia* rather than *monasterium*, see: *Vita Maglorii*, ch. 4, lines 141 and 143, ch. 5a, line 160, ch. 7, line 228, ch. 8, line 229, ch. 13, line 319 and a number of instances in ch. 15.

⁸⁰ Post-translation miracle 1; for *monachi*, see: post-translation miracle 2; for *ecclesia*, see: post-translation miracle 1, lines 18, 29 and 31 and ch. 2, lines 63, 76, 80, 86, 88, 98 and 100.

Family 2, in contrast, depicts Maglorius in a purely monastic setting, always accompanied by monks and living in a *monasterium*.⁸¹ This may have resulted simply from reform within the cult, reflecting either changing ideals or changing reality. It is in Family 2 that references to Dol's interests vanish and direct references to Samson's hagiography are replaced by indirect or paraphrased ones, perhaps indicating a sense of rivalry with Dol.⁸² This alteration in political outlook as well as the move towards a monastic rather than a clerical emphasis may reflect a (hypothetical) relocation from the cathedral of Dol to the monastery of Léhon in the diocese of Alet.

Dates of writing

There have been suggestions that the collection was written either in Paris or after the cult's return to Léhon in the eleventh century.⁸³ However, the lack of any reference to Paris or its environs or to the cult's sojourn there, the collection's consistent reflection of the politics of Salomon's reign and indeed the lack of any literary source dating from later than c.865 all combine to suggest that the *dossier's* composition predated removal from Léhon in the 920s.⁸⁴

Poulin dates the first three parts of the dossier to (roughly) the 860s, based on a quotation that refers to Nominoë's lifetime as *moderno tempore* (modern times). However, the phrase *moderno tempore* actually occurs in direct speech, and so may not necessarily imply that Nominoë's reign was recent when the hagiographer wrote, as Poulin supposes.⁸⁵ Presumably, although Poulin does not say so, he assumes a *terminus post quem* of the mid 860s, when Dol's metropolitan ambitions were at their height. He dates the *Aedificatio* to c. 900-920, since it must have been written before the monks moved to Paris c. 925.⁸⁶ Since Poulin believed the post-translation miracles were written between the *Translatio* and *Aedificatio*, he dates them more loosely to c. 900.⁸⁷ The reconsideration of Poulin's argument outlined above prompts some reconsideration of this dating. For the whole *dossier*, there is a firm *terminus post quem* of c. 865, since the *Vita* was influenced directly or indirectly by the VSS, and a firm *terminus ante quem* of the cult's move to Paris in the mid 920s, since the whole dossier was almost certainly composed in Brittany.⁸⁸

⁸¹ There are too many instances of the words *monachi* and *monasterium* in this Family to list them all. These terms however are used consistently across the *Translatio*, post-translation miracles and *Aedificatio*. The only variant is a single instance of the more general term *cleri* in the *Aedificatio*, ch. 23.

⁸² *Miracula Maglorii*, ch. 18-9 are based on the VSS: Plaine, 'Vita antiqua', Bk I, ch. 10, pp. 98-101; Bk I, ch. 17, pp. 109-111; Bk II, ch. 8, pp. 128-30.

⁸³ Van Hecke, 'De S. Maglorio', p. 786 and La Borderie, 'Miracles de Saint Magloire', p. 225 and p. 295.

⁸⁴ Poulin, *L'hagiographie bretonne*, pp. 209-11; 213-15; 217-8.

⁸⁵ Poulin, *L'hagiographie bretonne*, p. 214 and p. 218; *Translatio*, ch. 4, line 40.

⁸⁶ Poulin, *L'hagiographie bretonne*, p. 222.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.* p. 221.

⁸⁸ For the move to Paris, see: Guillotel, 'L'exode du clergé breton', esp. pp. 288-300. For an edition of the *Translatio Maglorii ad Parisios*, see pp. 310-5.

Dating the *Vita Maglorii*

Within the c. 865-c. 920 time-frame, it is possible to give a more specific dating to Family 1, especially the *Vita*. Its interest in Dol's claims means there is a case for arguing that it was written quite early, perhaps, as Poulin believed for different reasons, in the late 860s. The *Vita Maglorii* represents a concerted effort on the part of the hagiographer to improve on claims made in the VSS and to lend them credibility by articulating them in ways in keeping with the norms of the Carolingian church (see chapter 8). These claims could *theoretically* have been made at any date after the VSS was written c. 865. There are reasons, however, to believe that the *Vita* may have been written between c. 865 and the early 870s. The first of these is the way in which the author seems to respond to likely objections to the VSS' unorthodox treatment of Samson's ordination in the VSS. Since the Pope objected to Dol's claims, as well as to the Breton bishops' ignorance of canon law in his correspondence of 865/6, the immediate aftermath of this correspondence is perhaps the period when the *Vita Maglorii* was most likely to have been written.⁸⁹

Other aspects of the *Vita* also reflect the atmosphere of Salomon's final years, from 866, marked both by territorial expansion and his attempts to create an 'archbishopric' and ending with his murder in 874. The confidence with which it claims Sark and Brecqhou for Dol reflects claims to the islands made in the VSS (c. 865) and the expansion of the Breton kingdom in 867.⁹⁰ This suggests, albeit by no means definitively, that it was written shortly after these claims were made.

There is little trace meanwhile of the political instability that affected the province after Salomon's death.⁹¹ There is some evidence that hagiographers writing in times of political fragmentation or under Breton rulers with lesser titles reflected this in their work. Wrmonoc, writing in 884, presented Brittany governed variously by counts and military leaders, not kings, perhaps reflecting the political fragmentation and lesser status of Breton rulers by the 880s.⁹² There are hints of fragmentation in later redactions of Bili's work. In the interpolated section, king Conomor rules specifically Dumnonia, but not of the whole of Brittany, although this may reflect the reference to Conomor of Dumnonia in the VSS.⁹³ Maglorius' hagiographer presents the Breton ruler Judual as king of a unified *Brittania*, not as

⁸⁹ For matters of canon law, see the letter to Rethuald of Alet: Nicholas I, *Epistolae variae*, MGH Epp. 6, letter 129.

⁹⁰ For Dol's claims to the islands in the VSS, see: Plaine, '*Vita antiqua*', Bk II, ch. 14, pp. 135-6. For the expansion of Brittany's borders to include the Cotentin and hence almost certainly the adjacent Channel Islands, see: *The Annals of St-Bertin*, entry for 867 p. 140.

⁹¹ Smith, *Province and Empire*, pp. 187-206. For a more detailed discussion of the break-up of Salomon's kingdom, albeit with imperfect referencing, see: Chédeville and Guillotel, *La Bretagne*, pp. 353-402.

⁹² Dom. Plaine, '*Vita Pauli episcopi Leonensis in Britannia Minori auctore Wormonoco*,' *Analecta Bollandiana* 1 (1882), pp. 208-58. The west Breton ruler, Withur is a 'count': Bk II, ch. 17 (48-9), pp. 243-4 or *dux*: Bk II, ch. 19 (57), p. 249. Judual is *dux* of Dumnonia: Bk II, ch. 20 (63), p. 253. Only the Frankish ruler Philibert is termed 'king': Bk II, ch. 19 (57-61), pp. 248-52.

⁹³ Lot, *Vita Machutis*, Bk I, ch. 64, pp. 390-1

a ruler only of Dumnonia as he is in the VSS.⁹⁴ A date of writing c. 866-73 therefore seems most probable, although it is impossible to rule out the possibility that the *Vita* was written later.

Dating the post-translation miracles

The post-translation *Miracula*, also composed by the Family 1 author, present Samson's and Maglorius' claims to archiepiscopal status in far more veiled fashion, perhaps as a reaction to the abandonment of Dol's metropolitan claims, by Salomon at least if not by the clergy of Dol.⁹⁵ These miracles reflect not only some loss of confidence in Dol's ambitions, but also a desire to link Léhon to the broader Frankish church by comparing Maglorius' powers favourably with those of Martin of Tours and Hilary of Poitiers. In the first of these miracles, Maglorius' powers are sanctioned by Hilary and Martin.

Although all three are given the title *episcopus* in post-translation miracle 1, they are described as *archiepiscopi* when they appear in a dream to a Léhon monk at Redon in the GSR, hinting perhaps that both the dream and post-translation miracle 1 may have had a political sub-text.⁹⁶ They may even hint at an attempt to reconcile Dol's ambitions with Tours' authority.⁹⁷ If so, they suggest two developments in Maglorius' cult: first, an alteration in its approach to Dol's claims and second, an increased openness to, and competition with, its neighbours at Tours and Poitiers. This cultural shift might have been rapid, but may also suggest that the post-translation miracles could have been written a few years after the *Vita*, perhaps no earlier than c. 870. That they were written by the author of the *Vita* and probably before c. 900 (see below) suggests they may have been composed not long afterwards, perhaps in the 870s.

Even though this dating is uncertain, it is unlikely that Family 1 was written much later than c. 900. Most obviously, perhaps, this is because it was composed before the much more extensive Family 2. A ninth-century date is also suggested by the influence Family 1 had on a number of Breton hagiographies written before c. 920. The AVM authors, writing in the late ninth or early tenth century, were clearly aware of Maglorius' cult and seem to have had access to a copy of his *Vita* (see chapter 3).⁹⁸ Similarly, the *Gesta Sanctorum Rotonensium* echo the first post-translation miracle. They

⁹⁴ For references to Judual as ruler of Dumnonia, rather than the whole of Brittany in the VSS, see: Plaine, *Vita antiqua*, Bk II, ch. 17, pp. 139-40 and ch. 19, pp. 141-2. The VSS' depiction of Judual is itself based on the VPS: Flobert, *La vie ancienne de saint Samson*, Bk II, ch. 17, pp. 139-40.

⁹⁵ Julia Smith notes the difficulty of tracing the conflict after Nicholas' death in 867, but concludes from Salomon's correspondence with his successor Hadrian in 873 that Salomon does not seem to have pushed Dol's claims into the 870s: Smith 'the archbishopric of Dol', pp. 66-70 and *Province and Empire*, p. 160.

⁹⁶ GSR, III.3, pp. 194-6.

⁹⁷ Brett, *The Monks of Redon*, introduction, p. 3.

⁹⁸ 'La plus ancienne vie de saint Malo', pp. 287-30, ch. 1, p. 295 and ch. 15, ii, p. 313. Poulin, *L'hagiographie bretonne*, pp. 174-5. There are also four brief, verbal parallels between the *Vita Pauli Aureliani* and the *Vita Maglorii* but not any other work in Maglorius' dossier. These parallels are too brief to form conclusive evidence of a link between the two, but raise the

describe the dream of a Léhon monk in which Samson of Dol, Martin of Tours and Hilary of Poitiers appear jointly and introduce themselves to the monk as archbishops.⁹⁹ This echoes the appearance of Martin, Hilary and this time Maglorius in the first of the post-translation miracles. The parallel between the two episodes, each depicting the (arch)bishops of Tours, Poitiers and Dol on equal terms and the consequent promotion of Hilary as well as Samson and Maglorius seem too esoteric to be coincidental. Since Redon betrays no other trace of interest in the metropolitan debate, and since Maglorius' cult was clearly highly invested in it, this suggests that the author of the GSR, or perhaps the Léhon monk who visited Redon, had some knowledge of the first of the three post-translation miracles. Since the GSR have been dated to before c. 917 and possibly to the 870s, this too suggests a relatively early date of composition, perhaps the early 870s, for Family 1.¹⁰⁰

Dating Family 2

There is far less evidence with which to date Family 2 conclusively. Since it was written after Family 1, it must date from no earlier than the mid 870s. However, as stated above, the cult may well have been reformed at some point after the production of Family 2, to remove clergy other than the monks and presumably an abbot. The cult may also have moved to Léhon. Only a date of writing scarcely earlier than c. 880 would allow time for these changes, either in the way the cult functioned or merely in the way it was idealised, to occur.

The ambition and learning apparent in this Family, in the decision to build a stone church at Léhon (recounted in the *Aedificatio*) as well as the *Miracula*'s focus on property claims in both Brittany and the Channel Islands suggest that Family 2 may, like Family 1, have been written at a time of relative confidence and stability.¹⁰¹ This was probably before Matuedoi's exile after 913 and before the removal of Machutus' relics from nearby Alet, also to Anglo-Saxon England, and probably around the same date.¹⁰² If so, a possible date of composition might be c. 880-913. This could, though need not, have been during the reign of Alan I (890-907), the last of the Breton leaders to control all Brittany.

Conclusion

possibility that the VPA may have been influenced by the *Vita Maglorii* (see *Vita Maglorii*, Prologue, line 45, ch. 1, line 82, ch. 14, line 335 and ch. 16, line 365). Similarities in the two hagiographies – the emphasis on the saints' activities as hermits rather than as bishops, the Polycrates' ring motif, both saints' retreat to island hermitages – may simply arise from their shared Insular milieu. It is possible however that the *Vita Maglorii* may have served as one of the inspirations for the VPA and if so, it must have been written before 884.

⁹⁹ *GSR* III.3, pp. 194-6.

¹⁰⁰ For the dating before 917, see: Brett, *The Monks of Redon*, pp. 5-10. For the possible dating of the 870s, see Poulin, *L'hagiographie bretonne*, pp. 89-93.

¹⁰¹ For property claims in the *Miracula*, see: *Vita Maglorii*, ch. 11; *Miracula Maglorii*, ch. 12 and ch. 18.

¹⁰² Smith, *Province and Empire*, pp. 187-206 and Chédeville and Guillotel, *La Bretagne*, pp. 353-402.

Maglorius' *dossier* is by far the most challenging of the Breton hagiographical collections to date and edit. This difficulty partly reflects the way that the second author or Family of composition added his work to existing miracle collections written by his predecessor. A modern author might be expected to draw attention to their status as author and to lay explicit claim to 'ownership' of their work. It would be anachronistic to assume that medieval authors approached their work and claimed intellectual 'ownership' in the way that modern authors do. Maglorius' hagiographers' status as authors and the distinction between the work of one and the work of the other was for them incidental to the higher purpose of lauding Maglorius and promoting his cult and its interests. Because of this, the Family 2 author, when he took over from the Family 1 author, did little to draw attention to the change in authorship. He did not treat his own miracle collections as new collections in their own right. He almost certainly saw them not as 'his' miracle collections, but simply as collections of miracles by Maglorius. The change in authorship is not immediately apparent to the reader, because it was not important to the authors themselves.

To Maglorius' hagiographers perhaps, my interest in their identity and in the change of authorship might seem bizarre. To a modern historian however, the political and cultural milieu in which these individuals wrote is of much more interest than the spiritual import of Maglorius' miracles. To anyone wishing to trace the political developments of Maglorius' cult over time, the change in authorship is important. This is why I have divided the *dossier* into two Families of authorship. I hope that this division will be helpful to scholars beyond this study.

The process of dating these two Families of authorship once they have been identified is rather simpler than the process of identifying their authors. Although all the evidence for the dating of each Family is circumstantial, it seems likely that the Family 1 author wrote soon after Dol's metropolitan claims were rebuffed by the papacy in 866 and that Family 2 was written some decades later. Dol's ambitions also make it possible to suggest a political home for Family 1. Its support for these ambitions shows that it was almost certainly written at Dol or a closely allied foundation. Family 2 meanwhile was produced at Léhon, in the diocese of Alet. These differing political origins, and especially Family 1's links to Dol make it a valuable source for Dol's ambitions and their development after 866.

Chapter 5: Minor Sources for Brittany and the march

Minor sources for the march

Introduction

Hagiographies written on the ninth-century Breton march are relatively few and far between. Only three hagiographies are known to have been produced in this area: Donatus' *Life* of Ermenland, the *Vitae Melanii* and the *Vitae, Miracula and Translatio Philiberti*.¹ Donatus' work will be discarded because it makes no reference to Brittany or the Bretons. Three more hagiographies, the two *Vitae Marculphi* and the *Vita Merovei*, are of uncertain provenance. The anonymous *Vita Merovei* may have been written in Rennes, since it claims Meroveus' relics for the diocese, although this location is by no means certain. However, it focuses largely on the border between the dioceses of Le Mans and Rennes and makes no mention of Brittany or the Bretons.² It will therefore be referenced only briefly. The *Vitae Marculphi* do refer to the Bretons. Their date and place of writing will be discussed below, with reference, too, to the better-known *Vita Philiberti*, which also makes reference to the Bretons.

The hagiographies of saints Marculph and Philibert both mention their Breton neighbours, albeit far more briefly than the *Vitae Melanii*. They thus provide points of comparison for the VPM's references to the Bretons of the Vannetais. They help to contextualise the level of interest the *Vitae Melanii* demonstrate in the march and border area and the ways they portray it. Additionally, the *Vitae Marculphi* offer clues to the Channel Islands' political and cultural links to the Cotentin. It makes sense therefore to give a brief overview of when and where these works were written.

The *Vitae Marculphi* (BHL 5266 and 5267)

The two possibly ninth-century *vitae Marculphi* provide a view of the Bretons from the northernmost part of the march, the Cotentin.³ They are the earliest surviving evidence for their subject, the sixth-century St Marculph, about whom nothing is known outside his hagiography. The *vitae*, at least as they are published in the *Acta Sanctorum*, are highly generic, formed largely of accounts of the saint's virtues and his founding of a monastery with the help of king Childebert. It seems unlikely therefore that either contains much evidence about the historical saint.⁴ This does, however, potentially make

¹ Smith, *Province and Empire*, p. 166, note. 75; Donatus, *Vita Ermenlandi*, pp. 674-710.

² Brunterc'h, 'la vie de saint Mervé', pp. 7-63. Poulin doubted that the work was actually written in Rennes: Poulin, *L'hagiographie bretonne*, pp. 260-3.

³ *Vita Sancti Marculphi abbatis*, AA SS Mai I, pp. 71-7 and *Alia Vita*, pp. 77-81.

⁴ There is no reason to link the St Marculph of the *vitae* with the author of the Formulary of St Marculph, written in the early 650s for Landri, bishop of Paris: *Marculfi Formulae*, ed. Karl Zeumer, MGH *Formulae Merovingici et Karolini aevi*, (Turnhout, 2010), pp. 32-106, preface, p. 36.

them good reflections of their authors' views of the Bretons and the political and intellectual currents in which they wrote. The *vitae Marculphi* link Marculph to Bayeux and Coutances and make him founder of a monastery at *Nantus*, the location of which is now unknown, although Jacques Fontaine and Lucien Musset linked Nantus to Saint-Marcouf on the eastern coast of the Cotentin. The name and location of Saint-Marcouf make this a reasonable suggestion, even though there is no direct contemporary evidence for it.⁵ Flobert is more reserved, and perhaps still more realistic, noting that there are a number of possible contenders for *Nantus* in the Cotentin.⁶ Importantly for the thesis, a short section of each of the *vitae Marculphi* is set on Jersey, providing a rare view of the Bretons of the Channel Islands from a Frankish perspective.⁷

Pierre Flobert dated both *vitae* to the early ninth century, stating that the earliest manuscripts date from the tenth century.⁸ Unfortunately, he did not include references for any manuscript copy of the *Lives*. Modern manuscript references are absent too from the *Acta Sanctorum* editions.⁹ However, the *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina Manuscripta* lists one manuscript of c. 950-1050, Vatican Reg. lat. 490, containing BHL 5266 (this is the *Vita Marculphi*, not the *Vita Alia*). This suggests a *terminus ante quem* for this text of no later than 1000.¹⁰ There are however other methods of confirming Flobert's dating for the *vitae Marculphi*, both linguistic and historical.

Neither *vita* contains any trace of Merovingian Latin, indicating that they can hardly date from much earlier than c. 800.¹¹ At the risk of arguing from silence, it is possible both *vitae* were written before or possibly soon after the translation of Marculph's relics and cult to Corbigny in 906.¹² Both place their narrative firmly in the Cotentin and make no reference to any cult in central France. Both *vitae* clearly state that Jersey formed part of the country of the Bretons, and use corruptions, 'Agna' and 'Agnus' of the island's Brittonic name, *Angia*. This fits with a date before or perhaps not long after

⁵ *Vita Marculphi*, ch. 6-8, pp. 73-4; *Alia Vita*, ch. 2, 4-10, pp. 77-78; Jacques Fontaine, 'Victrice de Rouen et les origines du monachisme dans l'ouest de la Gaule (IVe-Vie siècles)', in Lucien Musset, ed. *Aspects du monachisme en Normandie (IVe-XVIIIe siècles) Actes du Colloque Scientifique de l'Année des Abbayes Normandes, Caen, 18-20^e Octobre 1979* (Paris, 1982), pp. 9-30; Lucien Musset, 'Monachisme d'époque franque et monachisme d'époque ducale en Normandie: le problème de la continuité', in Musset, *Aspects du monachisme*, pp. 55-74.

⁶ Pierre Flobert, 'Saint Marcouf, de Childebert Ier à Charles X', in Louis Lemoine and Bernard Merdrignac, eds. *Corona Monastica: Moines bretons de Landévennec: histoire et mémoire celtiques. Mélanges offerts au père Marc Simon* (Rennes, 2004), pp. 37-42.

⁷ *Vita Marculphi*, ch. 2, p. 74 and *Alia Vita* ch. 3, p. 79.

⁸ Flobert, 'Saint Marcouf', pp. 37-42.

⁹ The editor takes the text of the *Vita Marculphi* from two manuscripts: no. 141 in the seventeenth-century library of Christina of Sweden and one to which he refers, unhelpfully, as 'my manuscript'. Both seem near impossible to trace from the information given in the AA SS. The *Alia Vita* is taken from a copy sent to the author by a M. Preudhomme and appears similarly difficult to identify. For details, see: *Vita Marculphi*, p. 71.

¹⁰ Société des Bollandistes, ed. *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina Manuscripta: Index analytique des catalogues de manuscrits hagiographique latins publiés par les Bollandistes*, last revised, 1998: <http://bhlms.fltr.ucl.ac.be>. Entry for *Marculfus*.

¹¹ For a summary of the characteristics of Merovingian Latin, see: Paul Fouracre and Richard Gerberding, *Late Merovingian France* (Manchester, 1996), pp. 67-74.

¹² *Translatio corporis et fundatio Monasterii Corbiniacensis*, AA SS Mai I, pp. 81-2; Corbigny is about 70km south of Auxerre.

Scandinavian domination of Brittany and the Channel Islands gathered pace in the early tenth century.¹³

Fortunately, there is still more positive evidence to support Flobert's assertion that the *Lives* were written early in the ninth century. They make no reference to the Scandinavian raids that affected the area from 836, or to the Norse rule that eventually followed. Arguing from the absence of references to Viking activity may reflect a historiographical tendency, on the part of both medieval chroniclers and sometimes of modern historians, to overstate Viking impact. Isabelle Cartron for instance demonstrates that elite patronage and material incentives played just as much of a role as Viking raids in the many displacements of Philibert's cult.¹⁴ However, the argument must have some validity for the region that was to become Normandy in the tenth century and where Scandinavian presence was already marked by the late ninth century. David Petts highlights the possibility of continuity in the region's ecclesiastical organisation throughout the years of Norse rule, suggesting that although the higher echelons of the clergy fled the Cotentin and Avranchin from the middle of the century, local churches probably continued to function. Marculph's cult apparently remained unaffected until the translation of 906.¹⁵ Similarly, neither *Life* refers to Breton activity in the Cotentin, although the county was under Breton control from 867.¹⁶ Meanwhile, there are hints that the *vitae* were little affected by the Carolingian reforms that gathered pace in the early decades of the ninth century. Neither author displays much interest in the separation of ecclesiastical roles, evidenced by the fact that the *vitae* place Marculph very much in the secular world, despite his attachment to a variety of monasteries. Interpretations of reform varied greatly, and these aspects of the *vitae* can serve only to give a rough indication of when they were written, yet they hint at a date earlier rather than later in the ninth century, before Carolingian *correctio* gathered pace.

Neither *Vita* gives any firm indication of where it may have been written. The probable ninth-century date of writing indicates that the *Lives* were probably written at a foundation or foundations in the Cotentin, where Marculph was celebrated before his relics were translated to Corbigny. Nor is it possible to eliminate the possibility that they could have been written shortly after, rather than before, the translation of Marculph's relics. There is, however, reason to be confident that the *vitae Marculphi* provide a reflection of how the Bretons of the Channel Islands were viewed by a community with origins in the northernmost part of the march during the ninth, and just possibly the earlier tenth

¹³ 'Agnus' in the *Vita Marculphi* p. 75 and 'Agnus' in the *Alia Vita*, p. 79; for changes in the names of the Channel Islands, as well as Norman rule, see: Ridet, 'Sur la route des Vikings', pp. 127-155.

¹⁴ Cartron, *Les pérégrinations*; Christian Harding, *Community, Cult and Politics: the history of the monks of St Filibert in the ninth century* (PhD thesis, University of St Andrews, 2010).

¹⁵ David Petts, 'Churches and Lordship in Western Normandy, AD 800-1200' in José C. Sánchez-Pardo and Michael G. Shepherd, eds. *Churches and Social Power in Early Medieval Europe: Integrating Archaeological and Historical Approaches* (Turnhout, 2015), pp. 297-328. For another summary of the transfer to Norse rule, albeit once focusing more on the Channel Islands, see: Élisabeth Ridet 'Sur la route des Vikings'.

¹⁶ *Annals of St-Bertin*, entry for 867, pp. 139-40.

century. They thus serve to contextualise the view of the Bretons the *Vitae Melanii* provide from Rennes.

There are no modern editions of the *Vitae Marculphi*. They are published side by side in the AA SS as *Vita Marculphi* and *Vita Alia*, taken from manuscripts that are now difficult (and perhaps impossible) to trace. Their narrative content is almost identical, so one must be a paraphrased version of the other. There is not space for a full analysis here, but the *Vita Marculphi* (BHL 5266), listed first both in the *Acta Sanctorum* and by the Bollandists, may be the earlier. This is suggested by its echo of the *Passio* of Cosmas and Damian, preserved better in the *Vita Marculphi* than in the *Vita Alia*.¹⁷ That the *Vita Marculphi* is the earlier is suggested too by the fact that it rewrites one episode to remove references to castration, a subject later scribes may have been too prudish to repeat.¹⁸ Since both *vitae* potentially date from the ninth century, however, both will be treated as potential ninth-century witnesses to the politics of the ninth-century Cotentin.

Vita and Miracula Philiberti (BHL 6805-6 and BHL 6807-9)

The *Vita and Miracula Philiberti* provide a view from the south of the march. Philibert was celebrated as the seventh-century founder of the abbey of Noirmoutier, just south of the Pays de Retz and hence in the southern area of the march.¹⁹ The community moved several times during the mid-ninth century, first to Déas just to the south of Nantes and finally to Messais, north-west of Poitiers.²⁰ A substantial amount of documentation survives from Philibert's cult, making it perhaps the best attested of any of the cults discussed here.²¹ His hagiographies have been the subject of two major studies in recent years, a book by Isabelle Cartron and a PhD thesis, contemporaneous with Cartron's work, by Christian Harding.²² This documentation and scholarship mean that Philibert's cult can provide potential analogies for how Melanius' more poorly documented community may have understood the threat the Bretons did (or did not) pose, and how they may have understood their role as a marcher community.

Thanks to Ermentarius' prologues – and to recent scholarship – it is quite clear where and when the *Vita and Miracula Philiberti* were written. Ermentarius of Noirmoutier wrote his *Vita Philiberti* at

¹⁷ 'Caecis visum....etc.': *Vita Marculphi*, p. 73, ch. 3; *Acta Tertia Cosmae et Damiani*, AA SS Sept VII, pp. ch. 1, p. 443. See also: *Acta: partim fabulosa*, in *ibid.* p. 445, ch. 1.

¹⁸ *Vita Marculphi*, ch. 3, 19, p. 76.

¹⁹ René Poupardin, ed. *Vita Philiberti*, in *Monuments de l'histoire des abbayes de saint-Philibert (Noirmoutier, Grandlieu, Tournus)* (Paris, 1905), pp. 1-18, for a summary of Philibert's career, see: *Vita Philiberti*, pp. xvi-xxiv.

²⁰ These moves are recorded in the *Miracula*: René Poupardin, ed. *Miracula Philiberti*, in *Monuments de l'histoire des abbayes de saint-Philibert (Noirmoutier, Grandlieu, Tournus)* (Paris, 1905).

²¹ Alongside two Books of *Miracula*, there also survive a considerable number of charters and an eleventh-century *Chronique de Tournus*, detailing the events of the ninth century, all published by Poupardin in *Monuments*.

²² Cartron, *Les pérégrinations*; Harding, *Community, Cult and Politics*.

Déas in the late 830s.²³ The texts' editor Poupardin argued convincingly that Ermentarius either substantially rewrote an earlier *Life* or based his own work on material from an earlier *Vita Philiberti*.²⁴ Ermentarius' *Vita Philiberti* can therefore be treated as a ninth-century narrative, albeit one influenced by an eighth-century predecessor. Both Noirmoutier and Déas lay within the march and it seems reasonably likely that their authors had some contact with the Bretons of the Vannetais. Ermentarius wrote the first Book of Philibert's *Translatio* and *Miracula*, also at Déas, c. 840.²⁵ They recount the translation of Philibert's relics from Noirmoutier in 836 to Déas and the miracles that occurred at both locations and indeed *en route*.²⁶ Both this and the *Life* are dedicated, perhaps in a bid for patronage, to Hilduin, abbot of Saint-Denis.²⁷ Their presentation of the Bretons might be expected to chime with the ideas of the elite of central Frankia.

Ermentarius produced a second Book of *Miracula* around 862 after a further translation to Messais, detailing further translations and miracles as the community moved still further east into central Frankia.²⁸ Although the later *Miracula* were written at Messais rather than on the march itself, their reference to Brittany and the Bretons recalls the community's time at Noirmoutier and was probably written from memory. It thus reflects the memories of a community still closely tied to its origins on the march and whose view of the Bretons was still coloured by its time there, albeit one whose interests were increasingly focused on central Frankia.²⁹ The thesis refers to the edition by René Poupardin which, although over a century old, is complete and scholarly.

Minor sources for Brittany

Dol and the *Vitae Samsonis*

Dol's early history has been pieced together largely from the earliest *Life* of its founder, Samson. Unusually for the early Breton saints, a little is known of the historical Samson. He was a British missionary bishop who had contact with both Frankish and Breton rulers.³⁰ Dol, the monastery he founded close to Alet, was probably founded to serve the Breton-speaking population who had

²³ For discussion of arguments on the dating, see: Cartron, *Les pérégrinations*, pp. 24-5 and Harding, *Community, Cult and Politics*, pp. 17-23.

²⁴ Poupardin, *Monuments*, pp. ix-xxiv

²⁵ *Miracula Philiberti*, I, pp. 23-5. For the most recent discussions of the dating, see: Cartron, *Les pérégrinations*, p. 25 and Harding, *Community, Cult and Politics*, p. 10.

²⁶ Harding, *Community, Cult and Politics*, pp. 18-22.

²⁷ For the dedication to Hilduin, see: *Vita Philiberti*, p. 1. Christian Harding notes that Philibert's community were probably seeking favour from Hilduin and perhaps from Louis the Pious himself through their dedication. Harding, *Community, Cult and Politics*, p. 10.

²⁸ Cartron, *Les pérégrinations*, p. 25; Harding, *Community, Cult and Politics*, pp. 8-9 and p. 23.

²⁹ *Miracula Philiberti II*, ch. 9, p. 66.

³⁰ Charles-Edwards, *Wales and the Britons* pp. 66-7.

recently arrived in Armorica.³¹ Dol seems to have been a monastery with a few outlying territories rather than a diocese but it was nonetheless governed by a bishop (who presumably was simultaneously abbot of the monastery). This unusual position was to have implications in the ninth century, when the structure of the Breton dioceses was consolidated and may explain Dol's rivalry with Alet, which may have lost land to Dol as a result.³²

Vita Prima Samsonis (VPS) (BHL 7478-79)

The *Vita Prima Samsonis* (VPS) is unique in being the only Breton hagiography to survive from before the ninth century. As such, it is an invaluable source for the region's early history and has attracted a great deal of scholarly attention in its own right.³³ It was almost certainly written at Dol and based on traditions that may well reflect the historical Samson's career, notably the recollections at second or third hand of individuals who had known the saint.³⁴ This is overlaid however, with more folkloric material and of course with the interests of the hagiographer, writing some time after Samson's death.³⁵

There is some controversy over the VPS' dating, with dates as early as the seventh century and as late as c. 850 put forward.³⁶ However, a consensus is growing that it was written towards the end of the seventh century.³⁷ Scholars have recently discussed possible historical contexts for the VPS' creation, ranging from the latter half of the seventh century to the first half of the eighth.³⁸ The author's own explanation of his oral sources and their transmission from person to person makes it possible to calculate roughly when he may have written based on the probable ages or lifespans of his sources. This points to a date around the second half of the seventh century.³⁹ A further argument in favour of

³¹ 'Lynette Olson, 'Introduction: 'Getting somewhere' with the first Life of St Samson of Dol', in Olson, *St Samson of Dol*, pp. 1-18', esp. pp. 11-15; For the Roman diocesan structure and its medieval evolutions, see: Pietri and Biarne, *Province ecclésiastique de Tours*, pp. 14-18; Chédeville and Guillotel, *La Bretagne*, pp. 113-15; Chadwick, *Early Brittany*, p. 244 and pp. 247-50.

³² Sowerby, 'The Lives of St Samson', p. 13; Hubert Guillotel, 'Les origines du ressort de l'évêché de Dol', *Mémoires de la société d'histoire et d'archéologie de Bretagne* 54 (1977), pp. 31-68, see esp. p. 65.

³³ Its interest has been discussed most recently in a collection of essays edited by Lynette Olson. See among other sections: 'Olson, 'Introduction', in Olson, *St Samson of Dol*, pp. 1-18'.

³⁴ For the author's sources, see in particular: Joseph-Claude Poulin, 'La circulation de l'information dans la Vie ancienne de S. Samson de Dol et la question de sa datation', in Olson, *St Samson of Dol*, pp. 37-82. See also Flobert, *La vie ancienne de saint Samson, Prologue*, pp. 141-3.

³⁵ For folkloric influence, see in particular the *theomacha*, Flobert, *La vie ancienne de saint Samson*, Bk I, ch. 27, pp. 186-8.

³⁶ Poulin, *L'hagiographie bretonne*, pp. 329-331 summarises a full range of potential dates and the arguments in their favour. This range has recently narrowed, as Poulin has revised his own preferred dating from c. 850 to the late eighth century, see: Poulin, 'La circulation de l'information', esp. p. 76.

³⁷ Olson, 'Introduction' in Olson, *St Samson of Dol*, pp. 1-18, esp. pp. 15-6.

³⁸ Constant. J. Mews, 'Apostolic Authority and Celtic Liturgies: from the *Vita Samsonis* to the *Ratio de Cursus*', in Olson, *St Samson of Dol*, pp. 115-36, esp. pp. 132-4; Caroline Brett, 'The Hare and the Tortoise? *Vita Prima Sancti Samsonis, Vita Paterni*, and Merovingian Hagiography', in Olson, *St Samson of Dol*, pp. 83-102, esp. pp. 89-94.

³⁹ Kathleen Hughes, 'The Celtic Church: Is This a Valid Concept?', *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies* 1 (Summer 1981), pp. 1-20, esp. p. 4; Sowerby, 'The Lives of St Samson'; Barry Lewis, 'The Saints in Narratives of Conversion from the Brittonic-Speaking Regions', in Roy Flechner and Máire Ní Mhaonaigh, eds. *The Introduction of Christianity into the Early Medieval Insular World: Converting the Isles I* (Turnhout, 2016), pp. 43-56, esp. pp. 432-4.

this dating is the author's use of the term *Romania*, apparently to refer to the region east of Brittany, a term thought to have been obsolete after the seventh century.⁴⁰ In light of this evidence, the late seventh-century dating seems highly probable. The VPS survives in over twenty manuscripts. These have been explored thoroughly both by Robert Fawtier in his 1912 edition of the work and more recently by Pierre Flobert and do not appear to contain any substantial variations.⁴¹ The thesis refers to Flobert's edition, which compares marginally more manuscript variations than Fawtier's.

Vita Secunda Samsonis (VSS) (BHL 7481 and 7483)

Samson's second *Life* is a rewriting of the first, making it a useful tool for charting change at Dol between the seventh and ninth centuries. The work claims metropolitan status for Dol and it is this claim that has been used to date it, making successive datings dependent on when Dol's first claims to metropolitan status were thought to have been made. Earlier scholars placed the date close to the Synod of Coitlough in 849/50. However, this resulted from a belief that the Synod reflected an attempt to create an archbishopric at Dol. Julia Smith has demonstrated that Dol's claims probably emerged only in the 860s.⁴² This provides a new date for the VSS of shortly before or after Salomon's request for the *pallium* c. 865. The VSS has not been edited since François Plaine published his edition based on two of many manuscript copies in 1887, although manuscript variants are not always marked.⁴³ No later edition has been created however, so there is little option but to rely on Plaine's edition. In any case, no scholar has yet drawn attention to any substantially different readings between manuscript copies.

The VPS and especially the VSS are also important for the study of the other Breton hagiographies, which they influenced heavily.⁴⁴ Copies of the VSS must have proliferated quite rapidly, as for the most part it is the VSS, rather than the VPS, that appears to have influenced the remainder of the ninth-century Breton corpus, both as a template for other *vitae* and as a source of borrowings or quotations. The sheer audacity of Dol's claims means moreover that a hagiographical reaction might be expected at other Breton foundations.⁴⁵ Therefore, although the VSS does not form the focal point of this study, it plays a vital role in understanding the three hagiographies that do.

Vita Prima Pauli Aureliani (VPA) (BHL 6585)

⁴⁰ Charles-Edwards, *Wales and the Britons*, pp. 238-9.

⁴¹ Robert Fawtier, ed. *La vie de saint Samson: essai de critique hagiographique* (Paris, 1912), esp. pp. 2-29 and Flobert, *La vie ancienne de saint Samson*.

⁴² Smith, 'The "archbishopric" of Dol', pp. 59-70, see p. 63 for earlier scholarship and pp. 67-70 for Salomon's creation of the 'archbishopric'; Sowerby, 'The Lives of St Samson', pp. 1-32 also provides a brief discussion of the dating.

⁴³ Plaine, '*Vita antiqua*'.

⁴⁴ Poulin, *L'hagiographie bretonne*, pp. 69-70 for the dependency of later Breton *vitae* on the *vitae Samsonis*.

⁴⁵ Indeed, such a reaction has already been observed at Alet: Smith, *Province and Empire*, pp. 158-9.

Only one other Breton hagiography remains as a point of comparison for the three main sources, Wrmonoc's *Vita Pauli Aureliani*.⁴⁶ Paul Aurelian is celebrated as the patron of Saint-Pol-de-Léon on the northern coast of Brittany, some distance to the west of Dol and Alet. Saint-Pol does not correspond to any Gallo-Roman diocese and is probably a medieval creation. Like Dol, it may have been a British interloper into the Roman diocesan structure, made into a diocese only in the ninth century.⁴⁷

Wrmonoc's *Vita*, the only written source for Saint-Pol at this date, depicted Paul as a migration-era bishop of Saint-Pol-de-Léon. Since Wrmonoc's depiction of Paul as bishop of a diocese is almost certainly a ninth-century creation, it makes a useful point of comparison for depictions of episcopal duties in the *Lives* of Machutus and Maglorius (see chapter 7). Although he wrote for the community of Saint-Pol, Wrmonoc described himself as a 'priest and monk' of Landévennec and a former pupil of Wrdisten, the author of the *Vita Winwaloei*.⁴⁸ He was commissioned to write his work, he explains, by Hinworet, bishop of Saint-Pol. Wrmonoc's work consequently reflects an amalgamation of influences from both foundations.⁴⁹ Its narrative might cautiously be regarded as a reflection of events at Saint-Pol; certainly, much of it is based on oral traditions from Saint-Pol itself. However, many of its sources, perhaps some of its terminology and certainly Wrmonoc's literary style must reflect learning at Landévennec.⁵⁰ Helpfully, Wrmonoc dated his work to 884.⁵¹ By comparing Wrmonoc's depiction of Paul as bishop with earlier depictions of this role in Samson's and Machutus' *Lives* it is possible to chart the development of this role in Brittany over time. The VPA survives in two different manuscripts, which appear to contain much the same text, although, since no critical edition has yet been produced, it is impossible to say what variants exist, if any.⁵² The thesis uses the edition by Plaine in *Analecta Bollandiana*, which Poulin recommends in spite of some copying errors.⁵³

⁴⁶ Plaine, 'Vita Pauli'

⁴⁷ Pietri and Biarne, *Province ecclésiastique de Tours*, pp. 14-7.

⁴⁸ Plaine, 'Vita Pauli', *Prologue* 1, 3, pp. 210-11.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.* *Prologue*, p. 211 (Wrmonoc states that he writes in the same monastery as Wrdisten, the author of the *Vita Winwaloei*, patron of Landévennec).

⁵⁰ Smith, 'Oral and Written'.

⁵¹ Plaine, 'Vita Pauli', pp. 208-58, *Prologue*, p. 211.

⁵² Poulin, *L'hagiographie bretonne*, pp. 238-72.

⁵³ *Ibid.* p. 272.

Part II: What more can these sources reveal about Carolingian ambitions in Brittany and the march and about hagiographers' responses to them?

Chapter 6: Rennes and the *vitae Melanii*

Introduction and Historical background

From the seventh century, a number of Frankish churches were granted land on the march. By the ninth century, the monasteries of Prüm, Saint-Wandrille, Saint-Denis and Saint-Médard all owned land in the region. These foundations all had links to the Carolingian court, suggesting these patterns of land-holding served a political purpose, helping to cement royal influence in Neustria.¹ By Louis the Pious' reign, this influence is thought largely to have taken the form of soft power, although Joëlle Quaghebeur has argued that monasteries (including Noirmoutier, to south of Brittany) may also have played a military role, owing military service to the emperor and possessing key defensive sites.² By the 840s the lay abbot and count of Tours, Vivian, played a key role in defending Charles the Bald against various rebels, including the Breton Nominoë.³

In the early years of the ninth century, Breton raids on Neustrian lands became increasingly intense. Julia Smith argues that much criticism of the Bretons, and indeed Louis' campaign in Brittany in 818, may have been driven by the resentment of foundations close to the royal court over Breton raids into their Neustrian territories: among others, the monasteries of Saint-Denis and Prüm and the see of Reims.⁴ Since there are few detailed sources from the march itself to enhance or counteract the impressions created by these foundations, understanding of the Frankish view of Brittany has been coloured by accounts from centres closer to royal power who held land in Neustria: among others, the *Annals of Metz*, perhaps compiled at Saint-Denis, and the *Annals of Saint-Bertin*.⁵

The various annals are joined by biographies and poems written to glorify the Frankish rulers and justify their rule, in particular the work of Einhard and Ermold.⁶ These reflect the ways the Carolingians idealised themselves and their Empire and sought to create a portrait of themselves as rulers of the Christian world. Both writers offer a more elaborate, ideologically-coloured view of how

¹ Smith, *Province and Empire*, pp. 56-7; Chédeville and Guillotel, *La Bretagne*, pp. 201-2; for more detailed discussion of patterns of ecclesiastical landholding in Neustria, see: Brunterc'h, 'Géographie historique et hagiographie: la vie de saint Mervé', esp. pp. 39-56.

² Quaghebeur, *La Cornouaille*, p. 56. Although this focuses on Landévennec in western Brittany, Quaghebeur's remarks might equally be true of the march.

³ Nelson, *Charles the Bald*, pp. 137-9.

⁴ Smith, *Province and Empire*, pp. 56-9.

⁵ See for example Julia Smith's comments in *Province and Empire*, pp. 56-9.

⁶ Ermold, *Carmen in honorem Hludowici*, pp. 4-79; Louis Halphen, ed. *Eginhard: Vie de Charlemagne*, (Paris, 1947).

the Carolingian rulers justified their conquests, and the conquest of Brittany in particular (see below). Again, however, these sources emanate from centres of Carolingian power, but not the march itself.

Views of the march from Neustrian foundations are limited in comparison. The *Vita Marculphi* offers a brief and fairly benign view of the Bretons of the Channel Islands, although St Marculph's cult centre at Saint-Marcouf, where the *Vita* may have been written, was not strictly part of the march.⁷ Philibert's cult, based at Noirmoutier in the Pays de Retz meanwhile offers a more mixed view, presenting the cult's Breton neighbours variously as either pilgrims or petty raiders.⁸ Like Saint-Marcouf, however, Noirmoutier was not usually considered to be part of the march.⁹ Only the *Vita Prima Melanii* offers a view developed close to the Breton border. It is therefore a valuable source for viewing how marcher foundations, rather than those at the Carolingian centre viewed Brittany and the Bretons. The VPM is intensely preoccupied with the Bretons, presenting them as a military and spiritual threat to the clergy of Rennes.

Rennes' military engagement with the march

Although the march was theoretically 'desecularised' by the time the VPM was written, the work reveals that defence against Breton aggression and indeed the possession of at least one key defensive site still played a role in the cult's self-image well into the ninth century. In accordance with the principles of *correctio* however this self-image now took the form of the saint exercising power via non-violent means. The VPM's author implicitly invested his subject with the ability to protect Rennes' border with Brittany from military incursions, a role reminiscent of the marcher bishops' Merovingian roles as military defenders of the march and indeed of Carolingian bishops' continued military involvement. Two passages suggest this practical, quasi-military role. Both show Melanius deflecting aggression, once emanating from the devil and once from a Breton army. Both episodes are mapped onto Marsiacum Castrum, a site near the border that held defensive significance.

Marsiacum Castrum (now Le Mur, in the district of Carentoir) is a former Roman fort. It lay only 3-4km from the Roman road between Rennes and Vannes and close to its intersection with a second Roman road, between Angers and Carhaix. The fort and cross-roads were located close to a crossing of the River Aff, a tributary of the Vilaine lying just to its west.¹⁰ The site remained in use into the Merovingian era and, whether or not this use continued into the ninth century, the site must have been

⁷ *Vita Marculphi*, ch. 2, p. 74 and *Alia Vita*, pp. 77-81, ch. 3, p. 79.

⁸ *Vita Philiberti* and *Miracula Philiberti*, pp. 1-18 and pp. 19-70.

⁹ For a map of the march around the reign of Louis the Pious, see: Chédeville and Guillotel, *La Bretagne*, p. 209. As Julia Smith has observed, the exact boundaries of the march would have been fluid, reflecting the frequently shifting balance of Frankish and Breton power: Smith, *Province and Empire*, pp. 43-4.

¹⁰ Grenville Astill and Wendy Davies, *A Breton Landscape*, (London, 1997), pp. 80-5 and pp. 110-15.

strategically important for defending the river crossing and intercepting raiders or armies moving in either direction between Rennes and Vannes, Angers and Carhaix. When Melanius' hagiographer shows his subject defending Marsiacum Castrum, he therefore shows him defending a key defensive site for preventing Breton incursions into the march.¹¹

Surprisingly, however, the site seems to lie on the border between the dioceses of Vannes and Alet, not the border between Vannes and Rennes. This might imply that when Melanius prevents a Breton incursion across the Aff, he prevents an incursion into the Breton diocese of the Poutrecoët (later Alet), rather than an incursion into that of Rennes. It is possible that the diocesan boundaries in this area, where the dioceses of Vannes, Rennes and Alet met, were fluid when the VPM was written, or else far less clear cut than might appear at first glance. Most likely however this location partly reflects Rennes' possession of Comblessac, just to the north of modern Le Mur and the first village Eusebius – the fictional Breton king created by Melanius' hagiographer - would have reached had he continued his fictional march past Le Mur.¹²

The first miracle is taken from Gregory's *Dialogues*.¹³ In the *Dialogues*, St Benedict travels to the church of St John, but is met *en route* by the devil, who mocks him. He deflects the devil's advances with only a slap. In the *Dialogues*, this episode is treated as a miracle and prompts a question on the nature of saintly power from Gregory's companion Peter the deacon. Gregory's answer is that the miracle demonstrates the saint's power to deflect aggression with minimal use of violence.¹⁴ The VPM copies this passage largely verbatim, replacing Benedict's name with Melanius', the oratory of St John with Melanius' oratory at Placio and specifying that the incident takes place at Marsiacum Castrum, the fort lying between Melanius' foundations at Rennes and Placio. Although the hagiographer does not copy Gregory's explanation of the miracle, he must surely have been aware it. The passage is thus probably intended to imply that Melanius is powerful enough to deflect attacks by the devil, and able to defend the fort at Le Mur (Marsiacum Castrum) where the incident is (re-)located. It is significant that Melanius only encounters this aggression after he crosses the Aff from the Poutrecoët into the Vannetais, thus crossing from the diocese of Alet into that of Vannes. It suggests demonization not of the people of the Poutrecoët, but of those of the Vannetais. Whether this reflects Rennes' claims to parts of Vannes, or more peaceable relations with the diocese of Alet however is unclear.

¹¹ VPM, ch. 4c.

¹² For Rennes' possession of Comblessac, see: VPM, ch. 5.

¹³ VPM, ch. 4c; Gregory the Great, *Dialogues* vol. 2, Bk II, ch. 30, pp. 220-1

¹⁴ Gregory the Great, *Dialogues* vol. 2, Bk II, ch. 30, pp. 220-1.

This miracle presages a second, more dramatic passage in which Melanius is also depicted defending the march from Breton attacks. In chapter 5, the Breton ‘king’ Eusebius and his army make a bloodthirsty march from Vannes to the *villa* of Comblessac, where they cut off the heads and hands of local men. As the crow flies, Comblessac is around 3.5 km, or 40 minutes’ walk, to the north of Marsac and the first settlement a Breton army marching past the fort towards Frankia would reach.¹⁵ Ominously, the starting point of the march at Vannes implies that the king and his army are advancing along the Roman road leading from Vannes to Melanius’ see of Rennes. Just as Eusebius reaches Comblessac, and so, implicitly, once he has marched passed the fort of Marsiacum Castrum, he is struck down by a mysterious illness, halting his attack. He recovers only after he has called for Melanius’ assistance, confessed his sins to him and, implicitly, halted his march. This passage shows the Breton leader being punished only on entering Comblessac, as if by passing Marsiacum Castrum he has exceeded the limits of his territory. Again, it falls to Melanius to defend the march, this time explicitly, from Breton military aggression. The marcher bishops’ former military role clearly still influenced the way that Rennes’ hagiographer idealised his subject, an idealisation that may in turn reflect the ways the contemporary, ninth-century bishop of Rennes saw his own role. If so, this ninth-century bishop saw himself as a defender of the march, albeit one who pointedly refuses to use physical violence in pursuit of this defence. Both miracles have clear spiritual imports (the themes of saint power and of conversion) as well as political ones. Indeed, it is just as likely that the political context was introduced as a backdrop to the miracles’ spiritual themes as it is that the spiritual themes were selected for political ends. Unfortunately, there is not space here to explore the passages’ more spiritual meanings in detail.

How does this presentation of Brittany and the Bretons compare to other hagiographies from the march? Brittany and the Bretons did not always have an irreligious reputation in Frankia, especially along the northern coast of Neustria. Breton saints, or at least those with rumoured Breton origins, were sometimes celebrated by Frankish communities along the coast of what became Normandy, and in the Seine region.¹⁶

In hagiography from the Cotentin to the north and Noirmoutier to the south, saints also play a role defending the Empire’s borders. When St Marculph protects Jersey from a raid, however, he protects not Franks from Bretons, but Bretons from pagan Saxons.¹⁷ The Bretons of the Channel Islands never

¹⁵ VPM, ch. 5.

¹⁶ Jacques le Maho, ‘Ermitages et monastères bretons dans la province de Rouen au haut Moyen Age (vi-ixe siècle)’ in Quaghebeur and Merdrignac, *Bretons et Normands*, pp. 65-96. Particularly well-known Breton cults in this region include those of Winnoc and Judoc. For a background on Judoc, see: Poulin, *L’hagiographie bretonne*, pp. 98-119. For the slightly later *Life* of St Winnoc, see: *Vita Audemari, Bertini, Winnoci*, ed. B. Krusch and W. Levison, MGH SS rer. Merov. 5, pp. 753-75.

¹⁷ *Vita Marculphi*, ch. 2, p. 47 and *Vita alia*, pp. 77-81, ch. 3, p. 79. Pierre Flobert is probably correct in dating both Marculph’s *Lives* to the early ninth century: Flobert, ‘Saint Marcouf’. It is unclear where the *vitae* were written, but they display links with the area around Bayeux and the Cotentin.

pose a threat to Marculph's safety. Although Marculph's monks in the Cotentin weep when he departs for Jersey, they weep only because they will miss his guidance, not out of any fear for the saint himself. Jersey contains no trace of demons or Breton threats to the saint.¹⁸ To Marculph's hagiographer, the Bretons of Jersey are peaceful fellow Christians and the threats posed to them and Marculph come only from the more distant and pagan Saxons. This brings the Bretons of Jersey into the fold of a Christian Empire, a presentation that stands in direct contrast to that of the Bretons in the VPM. Defence against Brittany and the Bretons did not form part of Marculph's cult's *raison d'être* in the way it did for the clergy of Rennes.

There are many potential explanations for the *Vitae Marculphi's* positive portrayal of the Channel Islanders, the first of which must be that the cult seems to have had close, amicable contact with the people of Jersey. Both the evidence for peaceful contact and the peaceful portrayal suggest that the Bretons of the Channel Islands, unlike those of the mainland, presented little military threat, either because of the practical difficulty in reaching the coasts of the Cotentin from the islands, or because the islanders had submitted to Charlemagne before the *Vitae Marculphi* were written.

In the *Vita* and *Miracula Philiberti*, Philibert prevents two parties of Breton thieves from leaving Noirmoutier until they have returned or made reparation for the goods they have stolen from his monastery.¹⁹ Clearly, the Bretons of the Vannetais did present a problem for the monks of the Pays de Retz, although this time in the form of petty crime waves rather than a military threat. The threat from Brittany, however, pales into insignificance compared to the growing threat to Philibert's community from Norse raiders, which was to play some part in the monks' retreat eastward in the middle decades of the ninth century.²⁰ This greater threat may partly explain why references to Breton raids in Philibert's corpus are so brief and incidental.

Comparison with Philibert's hagiography shows that the VPM was not unique in giving its subject a role in protecting Frankish communities from Breton ones. It is clear, however, that the level of military threat presented by the Vannetais in the VPM is much greater than that presented by the Bretons of either Philibert's or Marculph's hagiographies and hence Melanius' role defending the Empire is rather more explicit. It may be significant that Philibert's hagiography was written for audiences close to Carolingian centres of power, in this case Hilduin of Saint-Denis.²¹ This military

¹⁸ *Vita Marculphi*, ch. 2, p. 47 and *Vita alia*, ch. 3, p. 79.

¹⁹ *Vita Philiberti*, ch. 28, p. 17 and *Miracula Philiberti*, Bk I, ch. 81, pp. 54-6.

²⁰ This retreat is detailed in the *Chronique de Tournus*: René Poupardin, ed. *Chronique de Tournus in Monuments de l'histoire des abbayes de saint-Philibert*, pp. 71-106. Both Isabelle Cartron and Christian Harding have discussed the use of frequent raids by 'Northmen' as both a reason and a pretext for the cult's move further east, see: Cartron, *Les pérégrinations*; Harding, *Community, Cult and Politics*.

²¹ For Philibert as defender of the march, see: Harding, *Community, Cult and Politics*, pp. 271-2. For the dedication of Philibert's hagiographies to Hilduin, see: *Vita Philiberti*, p. 1. For the cult of St Michael as defender of the march, see: Lifschitz, *The Norman Conquest of Pious Neustria*, pp. 100-113.

threat from Brittany and the Frankish see's duty to repel it influenced Melanius' hagiography far more than these two episodes at Marsiacum Castrum might suggest. In fact, Rennes' distrust of the Vannetais and demonization of its people pervades almost every chapter of the VPM.

The Bretons as a moral, rather than a military threat

The equation of the Franks with virtue

Frankish rulers and scholars had long had an interest in the idea of the Franks as a *gens*, one that was inherently Christian, law-abiding, strong and virtuous.²² The idea gained in popularity in the Carolingian era and is taken to its fullest extent in Einhard's *Life* of Charlemagne, in which Einhard equates 'Frankishness' with Christianity; by converting to Christianity, he claims, subject peoples could become Franks.²³ As Julia Smith has pointed out, the equation of 'Frankishness' with Christianity made Christian peoples who had not submitted to the Carolingian rulers ideologically problematic, which caused especial venom to be directed at the Bretons, who were condemned as 'Christian in name only'.²⁴ The Franks, in contrast, were depicted as sober, wise and law-abiding. Subject peoples and their leaders were depicted as immoderate, foolish or chaotic. The Frankish poet Ermold, writing for Louis the Pious perhaps in the 820s, depicted the Breton leader Morman as a drunk, easily manipulated by his wife and easily fooled by the sober and intelligent Franks.²⁵ The rhetorical device of Frankish superiority enabled both scholars and rulers to endow the Franks with the mission of converting, reforming, civilising and ultimately ruling over their Empire.²⁶

Parts of the VPM read as a manifesto for Frankish interests and a Frankish duty, in this case embodied by the see of Rennes, to contain Breton aggression. It embraces the association of the Frankish *gens* with virtue and stability and subject peoples with violence and vice, providing a lengthy, ideologically-based account of Franks and Bretons, albeit specifically the Bretons of the Vannetais, that perfectly reflects justifications for conquest emanating from sources close to the royal court. All the Frankish characters in the VPM are, without exception, clearly Christian. Either they are members of the clergy, or they are faithful laymen and women who approach the saint for cures for their ailments.²⁷ Melanius consorts at Angers with his fellow bishops Launus, Albinus and Victor.²⁸ The

²² Helmut Reimitz, *History, Frankish Identity and the Framing of Western Ethnicity, 550-850* (Cambridge, 2015). See also Bouchard, *Rewriting Saints and Ancestors*, pp. 91-5. Frankishness had earlier been associated with Christianity by Merovingian hagiographers, although in more complicated fashion: Kreiner, *The Social Life of Hagiography*, p. 92 and pp. 125-39.

²³ *Eginhard: Vie de Charlemagne*, ch. 7, pp. 26-7.

²⁴ Ermold, *Carmen in honorem Hludowici*, Bk III, p. 42, vs. 43 (Christian in name only) including translation from Smith, *Province and Empire*, p. 63; Smith, *Province and Empire*, pp. 62-7.

²⁵ Ermoldus, *Carmen in honorem Hludowici*, pp. 4-79, Bk III, pp. 41-55.

²⁶ Bouchard, *Rewriting Saints and Ancestors*, pp. 87-95.

²⁷ VPM, ch. 4a, 4e, 4h, 4i, 4jj, 4m and ch. 7.

²⁸ VPM, ch. 4m.

descendants of Siagrius, grateful that the saint has healed their ancestor's lameness act as guardians to Melanius tomb 'to this day'.²⁹ Despite the raids that must repeatedly have disrupted life on the march, and the lack of attention sometimes paid it by Carolingian kings, the area is depicted as an ordered society. It has an organised church and a king sufficiently engaged in ruling to call church councils and rely on Melanius' advice.³⁰ This society is largely benevolent towards the saint; no Frankish character expresses hostility towards Melanius or his disciples. This depiction of the region is entirely in accordance with the positive Carolingian self-image reflected in Frankish sources.

The depiction of the Vannetais is quite different; it is a hostile region, where the devil (in the guise of a talking bull – the result of a misreading of Gregory the Great's work in which the devil sarcastically claims to be a vet) mocks Melanius and attacks his monks.³¹ Its king is violent; he blinds his own people and cuts off their hands.³² There is no trace here of an ordered, Christian society; there are no churches, synods or even moderate rulers. Eusebius and his people's rebellion against Melanius and his Christian message echoes complaints of Breton sinfulness and rebellion written much further east – the complaints of the Bretons as 'restless' and 'barely Christian'.³³ This is clearly a literary construct created to emphasise and justify Melanius' status as protector of the march.

Correctio and conversion

The author of the VPM was also an enthusiastic exponent of the theme of a Carolingian duty to convert subject peoples to 'correct' Christianity. Under Pippin and Charlemagne, the Empire's expansion had been justified by the conversion of conquered peoples to Christianity. Under Louis the Pious and Charles the Bald, the rhetoric of conversion was still used, but now applied to conversion to 'correct' Christianity, rather than conversion from pagan belief.³⁴ 'Correct' Christianity was codified by a series of reforming councils from 789 which intended to 'convert' the churches and peoples of the Empire to a relatively uniform, 'correct' practice.³⁵ These reforms were both religious and, through ensuring more centralised control of the Empire, political (see chapter 7 on *correctio* for more

²⁹ VPM, ch. 4. i-ii (cuius ... progenies usque in hodiernam diem sanctum eius custodit sepulchrum; whose descendants watch over his holy tomb to this day).

³⁰ VPM, ch. 4a and 4m.

³¹ VPM, ch. 4c; Gregory the Great, *Dialogues*, Bk II, ch. 30, pp. 220-1 (*Malignus spiritus unum seniore de [cuius]*³¹ *monachis ... in terram proiecit et uehementissime uexauit*; an evil spirit threw one of his older monks to the ground and violently shook him).

³² VPM, ch. 5 (*multos oculos hominum erui iussit, et manus abscidi*; he ordered men's eyes to be plucked out and their hands cut off).

³³ For examples of other 'anti-Breton' narratives, see: Paul Edward Dutton and Herbert L. Kessler, *The Poetry and Paintings of the First Bible of Charles the Bald* (Ann Arbor, 1997), verse X. line 35, pp. 118-19; Ermoldus, *In honorem Hludowici*, Bk III, p. 42.

³⁴ Julia Smith, "'Emending evil ways and praising God's omnipotence" Einhard and the use of Roman martyrs', in Kenneth Mills and Anthony Grafton, eds. *Conversion in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, pp. 189-223, esp. pp. 206-10.

³⁵ McKitterick, *The Frankish Church*, p. 9. There is some doubt over exactly how uniform these changes really were or were intended to be: Claussen *The Reform of the Frankish Church*, pp. 264-71.

detail).³⁶ Marcher foundations, and indeed some within Brittany itself, helped spread the ideals of Carolingian reform on Brittany's borders and as such acted as vectors of 'soft' Carolingian influence.³⁷ Redon in particular has been seen as a vector of Carolingian political and intellectual influence in the region.³⁸ The need to reform the Bretons is reflected in the VPM.

The VPM's author takes the image of the Bretons as 'incorrect Christians' to extremes. He does not merely depict the Breton populace of the Vannetais as inferior Christians but models them on the pagans of the late antique *Acta Andreae* (of which more below). He then depicts Melanius 'converting' them to Christianity, in a passage borrowed largely verbatim from the same text.³⁹ This image serves to underline Melanius' achievements in converting the Vannetais. It might also reflect particular hostility to the Vannetais on the part of the clergy of Rennes, who were still more exposed to Breton aggression than those of centres based further east.

The majority of the miracles that Melanius performs in the Vannetais are exorcisms; since no instance of exorcism can be confidently located outside the Vannetais, this is surely significant.⁴⁰ Elodie Bonnaire suggested in her master's thesis that the exorcisms may be a metaphor for conversion.⁴¹ However, they might also be understood as a form of confession; in this instance perhaps suggesting Melanius' power to lead the *Venetenses* to repentance and correct Christianity – arguably itself a form of conversion.⁴² Doubtless, a number of potential meanings for these episodes, both political and spiritual, are possible.

There are no parallel depictions of the Bretons in other marcher hagiographies, although another Frankish saint is found preaching to the Bretons in the *Vita Marculphi*, from the Cotentin. Here, Marculph preaches to the Bretons of Jersey, although there is no suggestion that their Christian practice is at fault or that they are in need of 'conversion'. When Marculph and his companions arrive, the populace of Jersey willingly listen to Marculph's preaching. They therefore form a stark contrast to the pagan *Venetenses* of the VPM. This benign portrayal was probably the result of considerable, peaceful contact between Marculph's cult and the Bretons of the Channel Islands and

³⁶ McKitterick *The Frankish kingdoms*, pp. 57-62; Kramer, *Rethinking Authority*, pp. 31-61.

³⁷ Smith, *Province and Empire*, pp. 162-4; Jean-Luc Deuffic, 'le "monachisme breton" continental: ses origines et son intégration dans le modèle carolingien', in Jean-Luc Deuffic, ed. *La Bretagne carolingienne: entre influences insulaires et continentales*, Pecia 12, (Saint-Denis, 2008), pp. 77-141.

³⁸ Brett, *The Monks of Redon*, pp. 1-2.

³⁹ VPM, ch. 4c, 4k, 4l, 4n and 5.

⁴⁰ The exorcism in ch. 4k occurs in an unknown location; it immediately follows a miracle set in the Rennais and is immediately followed by one set in the Vannetais. It is therefore unclear whether it is thought to take place east or west of the Vilaine, or indeed whether the hagiographer intended it to have any particular location at all.

⁴¹ Elodie Bonnaire, *La Vita Prima Melanii: approche historique de la transmission du texte: introduction critique et édition* Master's thesis, University of Rennes (2012), pp. 58-9; Florence Chave-Mahir, *L'exorcisme des possédés dans l'église d'occident (xe-xive siècle)* (Turnhout, Brepols, 2011), pp. 17 and 36.

⁴² Peter Brown, *The Cult of Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (London, 1981), pp. 106-13.

reinforces the picture of relatively peaceful relationships between the Bretons of the Channel Islands and northern Brittany, and the Franks of the Avranchin and Cotentin. The VPM author's hostility to the Bretons, then, might be attributed to a political desire to align Melanius' community with Frankish interests and perhaps to greater hostility between the Bretons of the Vannetais and the Franks of the Rennais.

The sub-text to the Vita Prima Melanii

As chapter 2 illustrated, much of the text of the VPM is taken almost verbatim from other hagiographies, meaning that on the surface at least, the work appears to lack originality. Such verbatim copying could be justified by an understanding that the saints, all equally leading to God, were largely interchangeable (see introduction on hagiographers' sources and methods).⁴³ Since the VPM is the only surviving witness to the library at Rennes, it is impossible to know the true range of texts from which the hagiographer may have selected his sources. Nor is it clear how complete these texts were, whether they were full copies or collections of extracts from passionaries or legendaries.⁴⁴ If the hagiographer had access to complete copies of the hagiographies he borrowed from, then he would have been aware of the extracts' original contexts and original, perhaps multiple, meanings. These may then have influenced his choice of extract. That he was aware of at least some of these contexts and that he chose the extracts he did in order to create a sub-text is suggested by two factors. First, one model he chose (Gregory of Tours' *Acta Andreae*) consistently reflects Melanius' geographical location at any given point in the text and seems to underline or emphasise points the hagiographer wished to make. Secondly, the length and clearly verbatim nature of most of these extracts raises the possibility that the work's audience were intended to consider these extracts' original contexts when interpreting the borrowed passages in their new contexts. After all, shorter passages might well have been easier to miss – and hence the sub-text would have been lost to the audience. In any case, there is a clear message in the sub-text, and one that is intended to underline the dichotomy between the virtuous Franks and the impious Bretons who echo the Greeks of the *Acta Andreae*. Of the texts quoted, only those from the *Vita Germani* seem too brief to have formed a meaningful sub-text.

Chapter in VPM	Source	Extent of borrowing
1	Ambrose, <i>Ad Seruus Dei</i> , (Epistola II), parag. 1	1 sentence paraphrased

⁴³ Gouillet, *Écriture et réécriture*, pp. 211-16.

⁴⁴ Philippart, *Les Légendiers*; see also: François Dolbeau, 'Transformation des prologues hagiographiques, due aux réécritures' in Gouillet, et al. eds. *L'hagiographie mérovingienne*, pp. 103-24, p. 103.

2 (1 st half)	Alcuin, <i>Vita II Vedastis</i> , ch. 1	2 sentences paraphrased
2 (2 nd half)	<i>Vita Fursei</i> , ch. 1	Verbatim borrowing sustained over half the chapter
3.	Ursinus, <i>Vita Leudegarii</i> , ch. 2	Verbatim borrowing sustained over whole chapter
4.a.	<i>Adnotatio de Synodiis</i>	2 sentences paraphrased
4.b.	<i>Vita Prima Landiberti</i> , ch. 8	Verbatim quotation over half the chapter
4. c.	<i>Vita Benedicti</i> , Bk, II, ch. 30.	Largely verbatim quotation forms the whole chapter
4.d.	<i>Vita Prima Landiberti</i> , ch. 10	Verbatim quotation takes up first half of chapter
4.h.	Venantius, <i>Vita Germani Parisiensis</i> , ch. 43	3 brief echoes
4.l.	<i>Acta Andreae</i> , ch.14	Quotation/paraphrasing over most of chapter
4.n.	<i>Acta Andreae</i> , ch. 13	Quotation/paraphrasing over most of chapter
6	<i>Martyrium Genesii Arelatensis</i> , ch. 7	Extensive paraphrasing over much of chapter

Table 2: List of extracts and sources used in the *Vita Prima Melanii*. See bibliography for full details of source texts.

The author's choices of source text differ markedly between passages set in the Vannetais and those set in Frankia. Melanius converts the Vannetais by resurrecting a man who has hanged himself.⁴⁵ The most obvious precedent for this, and one to which previous scholars have linked it, is a passage in Sulpicius Severus' *Vita Martini*.⁴⁶ Melanius calls on Martin's aid before resurrecting the man, '*In nomine dei nostri Iesu Christi, qui fratrem meum dominum Martinum tres mortuos permisisti resuscitare...*'⁴⁷ Sulpicius' *Vita Martini* was both a popular source for subsequent hagiographers, and one of the few hagiographies to depict the resurrection of a victim of suicide.⁴⁸ Yet the hagiographer does not in fact borrow this episode from the *Vita Martini*. Instead, he borrows the passage, verbatim, from Gregory of Tours' Latin translation of the anonymous Greek *Acta Andreae*.⁴⁹

⁴⁵ VPM, ch. 4n.

⁴⁶ *Vita Martini* in Philip Burton, ed. *Sulpicius Severus' Vita Martini*, (Oxford, 2017) ch. 8, pp. 104-5; Aupest-Conduché, 'Deux formes divergentes de la sainteté'.

⁴⁷ VPM, ch. 4n (in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, who allowed my brother lord Martin to raise three men from the dead).

⁴⁸ *Vita Martini*, ch. 8; Goullet, *Écriture et réécriture*, pp. 211.

⁴⁹ *Acta Andreae*, ch. 14, pp. 598-9.

When the hagiographer chose the *Acta Andreae* as a source, he did so to comment on the Vannetais and Melanius' role within it. It is likely, though impossible to prove, that the more learned members of his audience too were familiar with the *Acta Andreae* and would have grasped the sub-text. In the borrowed passage, the apostle Andrew is preaching far from home in pagan Greece, struggling to convert a resistant and sometimes violent populace. The sub-text puts the Vannetais in place of Greece and thus implicitly presents it as alien, unfamiliar and incorrect in its practice of Christianity. The *Vita Martini* in contrast would have formed a far less dramatic sub-text, one that would have compared the Vannetais with a semi-Christianised, largely Romanised Gaul. By using the *Acta Andreae* as a source, the hagiographer instead makes the Vannetais a ninth-century equivalent of the late antique Greece in which the *Acta Andreae* are set. By copying from the *Acta Andreae*, the hagiographer also maintains the depiction of the Breton *Venetenses* as violent, threatening and non-Roman, too. Although the pagans of Martin's Gaul pose a potential threat to the saint's physical safety, they do not ultimately succeed in harming him, in contrast to the violent Greeks who eventually martyr Andrew.⁵⁰ Overall, the hagiographer quotes from the *Acta Andreae* more than he does from any other source text. In the work's sub-text at least, Melanius' image is first and foremost that of a – this time Frankish or Gallo-Roman - missionary to the impious 'Greeks' of the Vannetais.

The sections of the *Life* that occur in the Vannetais also copy from the *Lives* of Sts Fursa (another evangelising saint) and Benedict, both extremely common sources for medieval hagiographers.⁵¹ It is possible that some, perhaps most, of the *Life's* audience may have recognised these passages, especially perhaps the passage from the *Vita Benedicti*, and transferred their meaning from the original to the later context. These texts maintain the notion of Brittany as a foreign country; of the source texts used here, none sets its narrative in Frankia or Gaul. The conversion narrative is maintained here, too; of the hagiographical models used in the Vannetais, only Benedict, living at Christian Monte Cassino, is not a missionary in a foreign land. He does however combat both Goths and pagans.⁵² None of these three works is used as a source for events that occur east of the Vilaine, where the missionary activity and exotic location would be out of place in the eyes of a hagiographer who wished to present Rennes and Frankia as responsible for Christianising the land beyond the Vilaine.

⁵⁰ *Acta Andreae*, ch. 36, pp. 648-9.

⁵¹ For Fursa, see: VPM, ch. 2; *Vita Fursei abbatis. Latiniacensis*, ed. B. Krusch, MGH, SS rer. Merov. 4, (Hanover and Leipzig, 1902) ch. 1, p. 434, lin. 38; For Benedict, whose life is recounted in Gregory's *Dialogues*, see: VPM, ch. 4c; Gregory the Great, *Dialogues*, Bk II, ch. 30, pp. 220-3; For the popularity of Gregory's *Dialogues* (which include the *Vita Benedicti*) as hagiographical sources, see: Goullet, *Écritures et réécritures*, pp. 211-2.

⁵² Gregory the Great, *Dialogues*, Bk I, ch. 9-10; Bk II, ch. 8.

The hagiographer uses a number of sources for sections of the narrative that do not explicitly take place in the Vannetais, and again he copies lengthy passages almost verbatim. Of the sources used in these parts of the narrative, all but the *Passio Genesisii* locate their subjects in regions that are already at least partly Christian, or where Christianity is tolerated. The sub-texts created by these passages make the world away from the Vannetais, implicitly Neustria perhaps, a safe, Christian environment that poses no threat to Melanius' physical safety. Although two of the hagiographical models used when Melanius is away from the Vannetais are missionaries, bishops Lambert of Maastricht and Germanus of Paris, no mention is made of their missionary activity.⁵³ The hagiographer instead focuses on copying Lambert's virtues and Germanus' cure of a paralysed man in a town, *Bradeia*, that is already Christian enough to have a church.⁵⁴ Each time Melanius moves beyond the Vilaine, the subtext suggests, Melanius leaves the civilised, Romanised Empire and steps into a foreign, non-Christian world. He discards the mantle of bishop and royal advisor and must take on the role of missionary to subdue the populace beyond the Empire's borders.

All the source texts used in sections of the VPM located away from the Vannetais, in unclear or unspecified locations, situate their own narratives within the Roman Empire or the Merovingian kingdom (Maastricht, Paris, Autun and late antique Arles). By choosing these texts, the hagiographer embedded the part of the narrative that implicitly takes place east of the Vilaine in states or kingdoms that were forerunners of the Carolingian Empire. East of the Vilaine, Melanius like his models is on home territory and under Frankish or Roman jurisdiction, when he leaves it, he is no longer in the Roman, Carolingian world. Intentionally or not, the sub-text reinforces the idea that the Vannetais is not controlled by or does not form part of the Carolingian Empire. This shift partly reflects Melanius' mission to civilise and convert the Vannetais. Yet it also suggests again that viewed from Rennes, some of the Bretons at least may well have seemed still more independent and less tameable than they did viewed from the royal court.

These sub-texts create a literary dichotomy between Franks and Bretons that underpins parts of the VPM that do not appear on the surface to be overtly political. The list of Lambert's/Melanius virtues, the cure of the paralysed man at Bradeia or Medias' lame son in the Vannetais would have no political or 'ethnic' undertones were it not for the hagiographer's choice to copy the first two from Frankish hagiographies and the last from the *Acta Andreae*, thus making them part of a highly political sub-text. This sub-text as well as the more overt promotion of all things Frankish and condemnation of all

⁵³ Venantius Fortunatus, *Vita Germani ep. Parisiensis*, eds. B. Krusch and W. Levison, MGH SS rer. Merov. 7 (Hanover and Leipzig, 1920); *Vita Landiberti ep. Traiectensis vetustissima* in B. Krusch and W. Levison, eds. MGH SS rer. Merov. 6 (Hanover and Leipzig, 1913).

⁵⁴ Fortunatus, *Vita Germani*, ch. 43, p. 399; *Vita Landiberti* ch. 8, p. 362, line. 5 and ch. 10, p. 364, line. 5. VPM, ch. 4b and 4d.

things Breton, means that very little of the VPM is not affected by tensions between Franks and the Breton *Venetenses*.

The process of creating a model bishop

Four of the five models used for Melanius when he is away from Placio and the Vannetais were Merovingian bishops: Germanus of Paris, Lambert of Trèves, Léger of Autun and Vedast of Arras. Three of these *vitae* (of Lambert, Léger and Vedast) are quoted briefly but clearly in four chapters of the VPM (see table 2 above). Their appearance here might therefore be considered evidence of the hagiographer's interests and influences as he composed the *Vita Melanii*. The sub-text carries a message beyond the geographical one implied by the author's use of the *Acta Andreae*. Joyce Hill noted that when early medieval authors copied from earlier sources, they did so in part to adopt these sources' authority on whichever matters they wished to comment and to place their work within an older tradition.⁵⁵ Hill was discussing theological treatises rather than hagiography, but it is worth considering whether her argument can be applied to hagiography too. If it can, then the sub-texts mean that Melanius' mission is inscribed into the tradition of missions by Andrew and Léger; he conquers Breton demons through an authority equivalent to that of Fursa or Gregory and supports royal endeavours much like Léger and Vedast. The sub-text thus places Rennes and its patron on a much broader map, this time an ideological one. By linking Melanius to these earlier traditions through quotations that were probably recognisable to at least some of his audience, his hagiographer also implicitly borrows authority from his more prestigious models and so vindicates Melanius' and his ninth-century successors' roles on the march.

It is probably no coincidence that all three of the bishops whose lives are quoted at length were associated to a greater or lesser extent with royal favour or credited with moral influence over their rulers. Vedast especially was associated with Clovis' conversion and subsequent victory over a pagan army, particularly in Alcuin's rewriting of his first *Vita* by Jonas, which the hagiographer uses in preference to Jonas' version.⁵⁶ Alcuin's work is echoed rather than quoted at length, but is clearly recognisable in the text over half a chapter and may have been recognisable to those of the audience familiar with the *Vita Vedastis*.⁵⁷ Vedast is an appropriate role model for Melanius, who likewise acts as advisor to Clovis and counteracts the attack of the 'barely Christian' Eusebius. Léger's and Lambert's *Lives* form the basis of longer, verbatim quotations.⁵⁸ They too had associations with the

⁵⁵ Hill, 'Authority and Intertextuality in Aelfric'.

⁵⁶ For a discussion of how Alcuin rewrote Jonas' *Vita Vedastis* to emphasise his role in creating a Christian, Frankish kingdom, see: Kreiner, *The Social Life of Hagiography*, pp. 241-3.

⁵⁷ VPM, ch. 2, lines 8-13.

⁵⁸ For the *Vita Leudegarii*, see: VPM, ch. 3; Ursinus, *Passio Leudegarii episcopi et martyris Augustodunensis*, ed. B. Krusch and W. Levison, MGH SS rer. Merov. 5 (Hanover and Leipzig, 1910), ch. 2, p. 325. For the *Vita Landiberti*, see: VPM, ch. 4a and 4d.

royal court, this time the court of Childebert. It may be significant that, again, it is the later, probably early Carolingian version of Léger's *Life* this time by Ursinus, that the hagiographer uses. Ursinus, like Alcuin after him, also rewrote his Merovingian model to bring new emphasis to the bishop's role in supporting and promoting a Frankish *gens* and it may have been this role that led either the hagiographer or a compiler or collector at Rennes to choose this version of its predecessor.⁵⁹ Lambert too is a close associate of his king, this time Childeric, although his refusal to condone Childeric's successor Pippin's adulterous marriage leads to his downfall.⁶⁰

These models reflect rather more than just Melanius' arrival in Frankia. They align him especially with bishops known for aiding royal authority, royal moral development and the conversion of neighbouring peoples. These quotations reveal the author's intentions when he sought material for his *Vita Melanii* and its sub-text. If the work was intended as a 'mirror' for a bishop of Rennes, this may also give some indication of how a marcher bishop may have viewed his role, tinged perhaps with self-interest as he sought to align himself with royal as well as moral authority.

The VPM cannot have been written solely with a political purpose in mind. After all, it was primarily created for religious instruction and worship and this purpose, too almost certainly influenced the author's choice of sources texts, along with his political interests. The exorcisms copied from Gregory's *Dialogues* in particular could also be interpreted as addressing themes of evil speech, pride and the need to be on guard against temptation.⁶¹ Unfortunately, there is not space to explore these equally or perhaps still more valid interpretations of the VPM here.

Conclusion

The VPM offers clear evidence that the early ninth-century clergy of Rennes idealised themselves as bastions of Frankish influence and, to borrow contemporary political parlance, 'Frankish values' on a politically volatile section of the Breton march. Their ideological outlook, though more simply expressed, differs little from that of foundations closer to centres of power. On the surface this may suggest that their role differed little from those of monastic foundations close to the royal court who held land on the march. Their motivations and place in the Empire were not the same, however. Foundations such as Saint-Denis and Prüm were entrusted with marcher lands as part of a policy to

⁵⁹ Ursinus' work is less firmly dated than Alcuin's and there has been some debate over whether it dates from the late seventh- or mid-eighth century. Kreiner summarises these debates and argues for an early Carolingian dating based on the typically Carolingian way it depicts both the Frankish *gens* and Léger's role as bishop: Kreiner, *The Social Life of Hagiography*, pp. 243-54.

⁶⁰ For Lambert's close relationship with Childeric, see: Kreiner, *The Social Life of Hagiography*, p. 77; *Vita Landiberti*, ch. 4. Much of the remainder of the *Vita* focuses on Lambert's exile and eventual martyrdom after Pippin's succession.

⁶¹ Charlotte Kingston, 'Taking the Devil at his Word: the Devil and Language in the Dialogues of Gregory the Great', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 2016, pp. 705-20.

use influential churches to secure Carolingian influence in the region. This royal policy no doubt lay behind the appearance of the Widonids and Rorgonids on the march and perhaps in the appointment of Wernarius, if he was linked to this family, to the see of Rennes. Rennes' support for Frankia in the VPM however may reflect local self-interest rather than personal support for the Carolingian rulers, all of whom are absent from the VPM.

The VPM also reveals that Rennes' clergy did not merely respond reflexively to Breton aggression. They developed a coherent theoretical understanding of their location and consequent role as a marcher see, one inspired not just by their own experience, but through engagement with imperial rhetoric developed further afield. Lastly, the VPM's complex sub-text reveals that they were not just passive consumers of Carolingian ideology and literary imagery, but could manipulate literary sources and influences in highly innovative ways, to emphasise and create their own hagiographical message. This sub-text demonstrates too that what appears on the surface to be an 'unoriginal' collection of source passages gathered together to make a saint's life is in fact a complex and carefully constructed work with a clear message.

How representative may Rennes' outlook have been of Neustria in general? The question is necessarily hypothetical. It is certainly harsher in its presentation of the Breton *Venetenses* than those of the royal biographers, Philibert's hagiographer Ermentarius or many of the later sources that condemn the Bretons. The community at Rennes, one of the closest sees to the border and hence one of the most vulnerable to Breton raids, must have had more reason to condemn and resent the Bretons than nearby communities to the south and east. The VPM's focus on the Vannetais may too have been influenced by property claims specifically against the diocese of Vannes.

Rennes' particularly harsh criticism of the Bretons may also result from the lack of other obvious threats. Perceptions of Brittany among Philibert's cult at Noirmoutier in particular may have been balanced by the presence of other, genuinely non-Christian threats, from 'Saracens' and particularly from the 'Norsemen' who are blamed for the cult's repeated moves closer to central Frankia.⁶² The Saxons who threaten the islanders of Jersey may have had a similar effect on the hagiography of St Marculph. For the clergy of Noirmoutier and Saint-Marcouf, these graver pagan threats may have put the Breton problem into perspective and tempered the ideological viewpoint that the Bretons were 'not really Christian'. It seems therefore that the Bretons' centrality to the VPM may well be exceptional.

⁶² For references to 'Saracens', see: *Miracula Philiberti*, ch. 10, p. 66.

Lastly, very little is known of intellectual and cultural influences in western Neustria as a whole. However, since imperial imagery and rhetoric if not the full flowering of the Carolingian renaissance were evident as far west as Rennes, they were probably also present across Neustria. The complexity and pervasive influence of the VPM's subtexts, however, seems to be unique. The nearest, and only slight, parallel from the region appears in the Vivian Bible from Tours, with its presentation of Charles in Roman regalia and verses critical of the Bretons. Its presentation of the Bretons is brief and simple however, and presents no obvious sub-text.⁶³ Meanwhile, Christian Harding has argued that the Carolingian *Vita* and *Miracula Philiberti* perform a similar function.⁶⁴ These oppose Philibert's Frankish monks and their Romanised emperor to a number of 'others', including Viking, Muslim and Breton foes. Although Harding does not mention them, a number of incidents in Philibert's hagiography also recount the threat posed by Saracen as well as Breton and Viking armies to the Christian communities of Frankia.⁶⁵ This presentation however occupies just a handful of chapters in Philibert's extensive miracle collection and pales in comparison to the VPM's consistent juxtaposition and contrast of Franks and Bretons.

One question remains from the *Life's* preoccupation with the Vannetais, however. Does the VPM condemn all Bretons as a group or does it instead condemn the Vannetais but not the Bretons in general? On a geographical basis, it is quite clearly the *Venetenses*, the people of Vannes, whom Melanius' hagiographer condemns. Yet the language and sub-text used to condemn the *Venetenses* reflects ideas of Frankish 'nationalism' and condemnation of the Bretons as a whole. Possibly, resentment of the Vannetais, and perhaps its bishops who had recently expanded their diocese into the Rennais, was cloaked in the more ethnically stereotyped language of the court. The question of who exactly is being targeted and why remains open. In the meantime, the VPM still has a great deal to reveal about how a marcher see might view the Bretons, how it might understand its role in relation to them and how it might express this in hagiography.

Innovations in the *Vita Interpolata* 1

The VPM reveals that the clergy of Rennes presented themselves in opposition to the Bretons in the first half of the ninth century, but in the later part of the century the dichotomy between the two seems to have become less distinct and the clergy's attitude to the Bretons less hostile. Although Charles the Bald probably retained control of the marcher bishoprics when he granted much of the march to Erispoë in 850, Breton political influence was soon evident at Rennes. During the 850s or 860s,

⁶³ Dutton and Kessler, *The First Bible of Charles the Bald*, verse X. line 35, pp. 118-19

⁶⁴ Harding, *Community, Cult and Politics*, pp. 271-2.

⁶⁵ One miracle describes a Saracen ship being driven away from Noirmoutier by a flock of birds. *Miracula Philibert* Bk II, ch. 10, p. 66.

willingly or otherwise, its bishops ceased to attend Frankish church councils along with their counterparts in Brittany itself.⁶⁶

The *Vita Interpolata* 1 is a fairly limited rewriting of its source text, but adds it just enough material to hint that attitudes to the Bretons may have become rather less tense towards the end of the century. It provides evidence of a warming in relations between the populace of the two regions in the *Vita Melanii Interpolata*, written perhaps c. 850-900.⁶⁷ This slightly amended version of the *Vita Prima* ends with a property grant to Rennes from a woman, presumably Breton, who lived ‘beyond the Vilaine’.⁶⁸ Clearly, hostility to the Bretons at Rennes did not long remain quite so dramatically entrenched as it appeared in the first ninth-century incarnation of Melanius’ hagiography.

The *Vitae Melanii* necessarily provide information for a microhistory of Rennes, one that can be illuminated only slightly by other hagiographies. For Melanius’ hagiographer, Brittany formed a spiritual as well as a military threat, but this threat is at least partly an elaborate literary creation, one that justified the roles of the marcher bishops and allowed them to align themselves with Carolingian interests, both spiritual and political. Despite frequent Breton raids on Rennes, the hostility between *Venetenses* and Franks depicted in the VPM was probably always an exaggeration. Amicable contact between Franks and Breton did place, especially perhaps between the clergy. There was contact and co-operation across the Vilaine in the form of trade and the exchange of manuscripts. To the north, contact between Brittany and the Avranchin and Cotentin had historically been more frequent and amicable.⁶⁹ In all likelihood, the extreme hostility to the Bretons expressed in the VPM was partly a literary construct, albeit one inspired by all too real Breton raids.

⁶⁶ Smith, *Province and Empire*, p. 157; *La chronique de Nantes*, pp. 52-3.

⁶⁷ See final section of chapter 2 of this study.

⁶⁸ *Vita Interpolata* 1, ch. 7. i.

⁶⁹ For contact between Breton and Frankish ecclesiastical foundations, see: Smith, *Province and Empire*, pp. 164-5; for more extended contact further north, see: David Petts, ‘Churches and Lordship in Western Normandy, AD 800-1200’ in José C. Sánchez-Pardo and Michael G. Shepherd, eds. *Churches and Social Power in Early Medieval Europe: Integrating Archaeological and Historical Approaches* (Turnhout, 2015), pp. 297-328; Lifschitz, *The Norman Conquest of Pious Neustria*, pp. 31-4. See also Charles Mériaux, ‘Bretons et normands entre Somme et Escaut pendant le haut moyen âge’ in Quaghebeur and Merdrignac, *Bretons et Normands*, pp. 19-34 and Merdrignac, ‘La Neustrie/Normandie dans les vies de saints bretonnes’.

Chapter 7: *Correctio* in Brittany: the example of pastoral care

Introduction

Chapter 6 addressed the political as well as the religious motivations behind *correctio*, its importance in how the Carolingian churches and rulers viewed the Bretons in the first half of the ninth century and how the *Vita Melanii* reflects these developments. The following two chapters ask how far Carolingian attempts to convert the Bretons to ‘correct Christianity’ succeeded, by focusing first on *correctio* and then on the split between Tours and Dol. They use Breton hagiographies written in the second half of the century to do so, since none survive from any earlier period (aside from the seventh-century VPS). Unlike the westernmost reaches of the march, north-eastern Brittany provides enough hagiographical sources to give some overview of developments across a range of foundations, making it possible to generalise a little more from the evidence on offer.

This chapter considers some of the motivations that may have lain behind the uptake of *correctio* and reform. As I explained in the introduction, many aspects of *correctio* were adopted in Brittany and their adoption there has received attention from scholars. This chapter consequently focuses on a single, aspect of *correctio* that has received less attention in Brittany: pastoral care. This theme lends itself to examination via the Breton hagiographical corpus, because a large number of the surviving Breton hagiographies take bishops as their subjects, and pastoral care was a bishop’s as well as a priest’s responsibility. This chapter examines the hagiographies of Brittany’s bishops and asks how their involvement in pastoral care was depicted; how far this depiction either reflected an existing reality or eventually translated into one is unclear. My methods differ from those in the preceding chapter; here I compare the same theme in a number of hagiographies over time instead of examining one work in detail. I argue that Frankish efforts to bring the Breton churches into line with *correctio* cannot have been helped by the alienation of the Breton bishops from Tours from c. 848. Indeed, this may partially account for the relatively slow spread of Carolingian reforms specifically within episcopal centres.

The picture so far is one in which monastic communities embraced reform ideals, both in their scholarship and in the Rules by which they lived, while pastoral centres remained far more conservative.¹ Yet this picture has been drawn from penitentials and from the Cartulary of Redon rather than the hagiographical corpus.² While scholars have examined the Breton hagiographical corpus for evidence of monastic practices and literary influences, fewer have asked what it reveals

¹ Smith, *Province and Empire*, pp. 178-80.

² Davies, ‘Rural priests in East Brittany’; Smith, *Province and Empire*, pp. 178-80.

about the Breton bishops' involvement in pastoral care and preaching. By comparing the ninth-century Breton hagiographies, I hope to present a more nuanced picture of reform and pastoral care in the Breton bishoprics and how it changed over the ninth century. I argue that these hagiographies show an increased interest in pastoral care over the later years of the ninth century, implying that Brittany's higher clergy idealised the reformed concept of a bishop's role emphasised in Frankia. Although hagiographers' idealised depictions of their subjects give little clue as to whether contemporary bishops and priests imitated this ideal or not, these changing depictions give some indication that the Breton bishoprics were exposed to and accepted norms particularly prevalent in Frankia. Evidence for conservatism in Breton practice suggests that changing hagiographical ideals did not always translate into change on the ground.³ I also demonstrate that another facet of reform, the separation of pastoral and monastic roles, is increasingly apparent in the Breton hagiographies over the ninth century.

Hagiography and pastoral care in the 860s: the evidence of the VSS (c. 865) and the BVM (c. 870)

One relatively clear, though wholly unsurprising trend is for hagiographies written after c. 870 to show an increased interest in pastoral care and indeed sometimes a very marked one. This hints that the events of 866 may have been a cultural watershed for the Breton churches. It was around this time that Dol seems to have redoubled its efforts to paint Samson as a legitimate archbishop of Dol. Paradoxically, enthusiasm for pastoral care appears, quite consistently, in tandem with support either for Dol's claims, or for some level of separation from Tours. Most Breton churches embraced a Carolingian episcopal ideal but then used it to argue in favour of greater independence for the Breton churches, by depicting a Brittany reformed by British saints some three hundred years before the Carolingians could claim to have reformed the Merovingian churches.

The most widely studied work in the ninth-century Breton corpus is the *Vita Secunda Samsonis*, closely followed by Bili's *Vita Machutis*. The former was written either shortly before or shortly after 866, the latter shortly afterwards (see chapters 5 and 2 for the dates of each). Neither shows much evidence of reform. Samson's first *Life* is highly monastic in focus and rarely depicts its subject engaging with the *plebs*.⁴ His second *Life* is only a little different in this respect, despite making a number of broader changes to other aspects of the narrative.⁵

³ Smith, *Province and Empire*, summarises the scant evidence for pastoral care in Brittany, pp. 178-80.

⁴ For a recent discussion of monasticism in the VPS, see: Jonathan Wooding, 'The representation of early British monasticism and *peregrinatio* in the *Vita Prima Samsonis*, in Olson, *St Samson of Dol*, pp. 103-14.

⁵ For the most recent study of the rewriting of Samson's *Vita Prima*, see: Sowerby, 'The Lives of St Samson'.

According to the VSS and BVM, both Machutus and Samson leave Britain to lead a life of pilgrimage.⁶ Once elected bishop, both leave Brittany for extended periods, Samson for Childebert's court and Machutus for Luxeuil and the Saintonge.⁷ The lack of focus on their time as bishops in Brittany suggests, in both cases, that there were few legends depicting either as bishops with pastoral responsibilities, or even perhaps as bishops at all, when their first ninth-century hagiographies were written c. 860-70. While both works remained in currency over the following centuries with little alteration, depictions of both Samson and Machutus in new hagiographies were to change radically before the end of the century as their hagiographers and cult centres absorbed the ideals of *correctio*. These changes often occur in parallel with support for Dol's metropolitan ambitions.

Dol's ambitions: the Vita Prima Samsonis and the Vita Secunda Samsonis

The VSS author based his work, written c. 865, on the *Vita Prima Samsonis*, written c. 700. He substantially rewrote his source text, making alterations particularly to Samson's miracles and his relationship with other saints. These alterations were designed to demonstrate that Samson was worthy of the rank of archbishop.⁸ The VSS author also, though with less emphasis, added references to preaching to his source text. The locations of these references in the narrative is worth some brief consideration. Three appear alongside lists of other virtues or activities designed to justify various key points in the narrative: before Samson's ordination as deacon, after the founding of Dol and after his consecration as archbishop.

Before Samson's ordination as deacon in the VPS, his hagiographer provides a brief list of virtues that make him worthy of the office, such as 'amiability' and 'charity'.⁹ The VSS expands greatly on this list, replacing it with an entire paragraph on Samson's skills in prayer, work, reading and preaching.¹⁰ After Samson is ordained bishop by Childebert in the VPS, he somewhat impressively slays a dragon before intervening in a dispute between two Breton rulers, Judwal and Conomor, but he does not engage in preaching, conversion or baptism.¹¹ In the VSS, in contrast, he and his retinue return to Brittany, working miracles and preaching as they go (*semper omnibus secum ambulantiibus praedicans*).¹² Preaching is also added, briefly, to Samson's activities after the foundation of Dol – in the VPS he works miracles, but does not preach, yet he preaches in the VSS.¹³ Engagement in pastoral care is clearly seen as a justification for Samson's promotions at various levels, but it is one of many

⁶ Plaine, '*Vita antiqua*', ch. 15, pp. 106-8; '*La Vita Machutis par Bili*', Bk ch. 26, pp. 368-70.

⁷ Plaine, '*Vita antiqua*'; Bk II, ch. 3-14, pp. 122-136; ch. 20-24, pp. 142-147; '*La Vita Machutis par Bili*', Bk I, ch. 33-4, pp. 379-80; ch. 35-6, pp. 380-81, ch. 76-84, pp. 400-406; ch. 86-7, pp. 406-407.

⁸ See: Sowerby, 'The Lives of St Samson'.

⁹ Flobert, *La vie ancienne de saint Samson*, Bk I, ch. 13, p. 167.

¹⁰ Plaine, '*Vita antiqua*', Bk I, ch. 8, p. 94.

¹¹ Plaine, '*Vita antiqua*', Bk I, ch. 58-9, pp. 230-3.

¹² Plaine, '*Vita antiqua*', Bk II, ch. 24, p. 147 line 8 (preaching constantly to those who walked with him).

¹³ Compare VPS, Bk I, p. 223 and Plaine, '*Vita antiqua*', Bk II, ch. 1, p. 121.

qualifications and references to it are rarely laboured. Before Samson's ordination, for example, his skill in preaching is listed alongside prayer, work and reading, making it only one qualification among many. After the foundation of Dol, other virtues, such as the ability to work miracles, are just as important as Samson's ability to teach. This suggests less an interest in pastoral care alone than a more general intention to justify Samson's various promotions on multiple grounds.

Only twice does the VSS author replace references to monastic retreat that appear in the VPS with references to pastoral care. The first appears after the founding of the monastery at Trigg, in Cornwall. In the VPS, Samson retreats after a time to a cave, where he produces water from a rock.¹⁴ In an analogous passage in the VSS, this miracle is replaced by one in which his disciples, who have run out of food and water, nonetheless leave to preach in the surrounding countryside. Predictably, bread and water miraculously appear.¹⁵ The disciples' pastoral mission may reflect a desire to replace Samson's retreat with responsibilities more suited to a bishop, while at the same time creating a miracle on a grander scale.

Although the VSS displays more interest in pastoral care than the VPS, it so far seems largely incidental. The theme receives far less attention than it ever does in the *Vita Prima* or *Vita Interpolata Melanii*, written just across the border a generation earlier. The image of the Breton churches as largely unreformed and peculiarly eremitic in character remains. There is a similarly mixed picture when Samson departs Insular Britain. The VSS, like the VPS, ties Samson's departure from Britain to the idea of pilgrimage:

*Peregrinus enim destinatus es atque trans mare, in ecclesia futurus es sacerdos ac maximo sacerdotali officio condignus ... Quicumque dimiserit patrem aut matrem, aut filios ... vitam aeternam...possidebit ... Te oportet in hac patria virtutes Dei manifestare.*¹⁶

Yet after Samson's arrival in Brittany, he announces, '*in haec patria missus sum ad Euangelium praedicandum ut convertantur homines de erroribus et peccatis suis*'.¹⁷ The hagiographer thus gives multiple reasons for his departure. Preaching the gospels may be one, but it is by no means the only one. Significantly, perhaps, where preaching does appear it is added specifically to those passages that

¹⁴ VPS, Bk I, ch. 51, pp. 220-1.

¹⁵ Plaine, '*Vita antiqua*', Bk I, ch. 17, p. 111.

¹⁶ Plaine, '*Vita antiqua*', Bk I, ch. 15, pp. 107-8 '(For you are destined to be a pilgrim and across the sea you will be a bishop in the church and very worthy of the highest office of priest; whoever will leave father, mother...or sons...will have eternal life; it is proper for you to demonstrate the virtues of God in this country).

¹⁷ Plaine, '*Vita antiqua*', Bk II, ch. 1, p. 119, lines 11-3 (I am sent to this country to preach the Gospel and to convert men from their errors and sins).

explain and hence justify Samson's status as bishop. Preaching may be a minor theme here, but it is clearly tied to a desire to promote Samson as archbishop of Dol.

The VSS provides little evidence of separation between monastic and pastoral roles. In the VSS, Samson's pastoral work is never seen to conflict with his monastic vocation, indicating that at Dol, the responsibilities of bishop and abbot were still not seen to be in conflict. After describing Samson's preaching after the foundation of Dol, the hagiographer depicts Samson founding monasteries in the next breath, '*semper omnibus secum ambulantis praedicans, multa monasteria ubique construens*'.¹⁸

Alet's conservatism

Bili, writing at Alet c. 870, opposed Dol's claims, depicting his subject Machutus being consecrated at Tours.¹⁹ Bili was clearly familiar with at least some Carolingian authors and conventions, indicating that the clergy of Alet had some intellectual as well as political contact with wider Empire, perhaps via Machutus' devotees in Saintes.²⁰ That he largely neglects the duty of pastoral care cannot therefore be attributed to a lack of political loyalty to Frankia, or to ignorance of Carolingian norms. Perhaps it is unwise to seek a single, straightforward explanation. A better approach perhaps might be to assume that Bili and Ratuili, while accepting much of Tours' strictures, saw little need to alter traces of older practices reflected in their hagiography. Indeed, since they had no dispute with Carolingian power, they had perhaps little to prove, in contrast to Dol and its proponents.

Although Machutus is often depicted in the company of *sacerdoti* (priests) rather than *monachi* (monks) neither he nor they are portrayed engaging in pastoral activity such as preaching.²¹ Similarly, after Machutus' death, references to the clergy of Alet portray them as priests but make no mention of pastoral care.²² Bili's interests then are more eremitic than those of his contemporary hagiographer at Dol. This is reflected too in Machutus' motives for departing first Insular Britain and then Brittany. He leaves Insular Britain to lead a life of pilgrimage.²³ Once appointed bishop, Machutus leaves Brittany for long periods, for Luxeuil and finally, twice, for Aquitaine, after being 'insulted' by jealous and evil men.²⁴ Again, Bili's focus is less pastoral than that of his contemporary at Dol. The

¹⁸ Plaine, '*Vita antiqua*', Bk II, ch. 24, p. 121, lines 19-20. The phrasing is almost identical to that in Bk II, ch. 24.

¹⁹ '*La vita Machutis par Bili*', pp. 340-430, ch. 40, p. 378; Smith, *Province and Empire*, pp. 158-9.

²⁰ Smith, 'Oral and Written', (1990), pp. 309-43 and Smith, *Province and Empire*, p. 175.

²¹ Poulin, *L'hagiographie bretonne*, pp. 168-9; For references to *sacerdoti*, see: '*La Vita Machutis par Bili*', Bk I: ch. 31, p. 373; ch. 46, p. 381; ch. 64, p. 390; ch. 83, pp. 405-6; ch. 87, p. 407; Bk II, ch. 5, pp. 413-4; ch. 6, pp. 141-15 (references identified by Poulin). For references to *monachi* (or monasteries), see: ch. 31, p. 373; ch. 37, p. 377; ch. 34, p. 375; ch. 87, p. 407.

²² '*La Vita Machutis par Bili*', see: Bk II, ch. 14, pp. 422-425 and Bk II, ch. 18, pp. 428-30 (references identified by Poulin).

²³ *Ibid.* Bk I, ch. 26, pp. 368-70.

²⁴ *Ibid.* Bk I, ch. 33-4, pp. 379-80; ch. 35-6, pp. 380-81, ch. 76-84, pp. 400-406; ch. 86-7, pp. 406-407.

lack of focus on Machutus' time as bishop in Brittany also suggests that there were few legends depicting him as a bishop with pastoral responsibilities, or even perhaps as at all, when his first ninth-century hagiography was composed.

Developments over the later ninth century: the interpolations into BVM (870s)

Bili's work was interpolated twice before c. 920, although never substantially rewritten. The interpolated sections suggest that the passage of time saw only slight alteration in Machutus' reputation at Alet as a remote, rather eremitic figure and only a slightly increased interest in the theme of pastoral care. This seems never to have been a major characteristic of Machutus' depiction at Alet. In fact, the interpolated chapters seem to have been added to enhance Machutus' reputation as a miracle worker rather than preacher, almost certainly in an effort to promote his relic shrine.²⁵

The interpolated section of BVM comprises 25 new chapters, of which only four depict Machutus preaching to the laity. Two of these references are brief: *monebat frequenter ut omnes ad celestia regna concurrent* followed three chapters later by *dum circuiens parochiam suam predicando, confirmando...singulas ecclesias visitaret*.²⁶ The first quotation lists his preaching after a much longer list of healing miracles. The second mentions the saint's activities in his parish as the prelude to a single miracle in which Machutus heals a leper. There is no known source for the first reference but the second is taken from the *Life* of St Licinius of Angers.²⁷ That the interpolator allowed the reference to preaching to remain suggests that the activities it lists were seen as desirable at Alet. They are ultimately however incidental to the cure that follows them.

The other two references to preaching show more sustained engagement with the ideal. Chapter 68 is copied largely from the *Life* of St Fursa, and chapter 75 from the *Life* of St Firmin and from Alcuin's *Life* of St Vedast. Conversion is the main focus of each quotation. Here, then, there is evidence of a more deliberate focus on pastoral care, perhaps even of a sense of obligation at Alet that Machutus should join his fellow Breton bishops in the 'conversions' that each engages in (see discussion of the *Vita Maglorii*, *Vita Pauli Aureliani* and the anonymous *Vitae Machutis* below). Conversion and preaching still, however, remain minor notes in a series of interpolations intended largely to boost Machutus' reputation as thaumaturge. The vast majority of the interpolated chapters focus not on preaching, but on healing miracles.²⁸

²⁵ For miracles in this section, see: ch. 52, 54, 57, 58, 60, 61, 62, 64, 65, 67, 69, 71, 72 and 73.

²⁶ Lot, '*Vita Machutis par Bili*', ch. 70 and 73. (He gave frequent advice that all might reach heaven; when he went about his diocese preaching, confirming [and] visiting individual churches).

²⁷ *Vita Licinii*, ch. 24, p. 681.

²⁸ For miracles in this section, see: ch. 52, 54, 57, 58, 60, 61, 62, 64, 65, 67, 69, 71, 72 and 73.

Pastoral care is emphasised more in the sermon for Machutus' feast day, particularly indeed in the 'original' passages not copied from Alcuin's *Vita Vedasti*.²⁹ The appearance of the ideal in the 'original' passages shows for the first time in Bili's *Life* that the ideal of pastoral care had been adopted sufficiently at Alet for the clergy there to depict their patron preaching in their own words. That the ideal appears so clearly in a sermon to the cathedral community suggests that the community may have moved beyond merely depicting pastoral care (on occasion) in their hagiography and moved towards promoting it as an activity the priests of Alet should engage in. If the sermon was, like the interpolations, a later addition to Bili's dossier, it adds to the impression that pastoral care only came to be depicted as a bishop's duty at Alet as Frankish influence in Brittany increased after c. 870. It also hints that the clergy of Alet saw pastoral care for the populace as one of their own duties, even if it contributed little to their patron's sanctity.

The scribe who interpolated new material into Machutus' hagiography did not see pastoral care as being incompatible with his subject's monastic activities. Although he added material, he seems to have removed none, allowing his subject to engage simultaneously in both pastoral and monastic work. The ideal of separation seems not to have appeared at Alet in hagiographical form, perhaps because the cathedral may have sought to retain control over the monks of Saint-Malo (see below).

In all likelihood, Alet may have had no motive for re-inventing its patron in line with Frankish ideals. So long as Alet remained faithful to Tours and so long perhaps as its clergy fulfilled their duties, including pastoral ones, its hagiographers may have had little political motive to re-imagine their patron. Indeed, the cathedral's apparent attempt to retain control of the monastic communities in its diocese may have made it particularly important for its hagiographer to emphasise his subject's virtues as monk as well as bishop.

Those foundations that resisted Frankish domination, in contrast, may have had rather more to prove. They were influenced more than Alet was by contact with Samson's cult at Dol, which as the following paragraphs will show, came to embrace reform still further. If reform ideals were then disseminated around Brittany in line with Dol's justification of its own ambitions, this would go some way towards explaining the relative lack of interest in reform at Alet, which had deliberately distanced itself from the influence of its rival, Dol.

The VSS and Vita Maglorii: Dol's ambitions

²⁹ Brown and Yerkes 'Sermon', p. 163, paragraph 2, lines 7-8 and 14-7 and p. 164 line 12.

The next hagiography, or rather the next surviving hagiography, to be written in Brittany was probably the *Vita Maglorii*. Of all the Breton hagiographies, this provides the clearest articulation of *correctio*, pastoral care and the separation of monastic and pastoral roles. This suggests a very rapid change in Dol's mindset after 866, suggesting that the clash between Salomon and Festinian on the one hand with Tours and the Papacy on the other led to substantial change in the ways Breton bishops and hagiographers presented themselves and their subjects respectively. I argue that this implementation of *correctio* was linked directly to Dol's ambitions and that it was in fact used to suggest that its clergy were able and in fact destined to take responsibility for the souls of the Breton people. This argument builds upon a remark made, but not elaborated upon, by Julia Smith that the *Vita Maglorii* was written to further Dol's interests.³⁰

The *Vita Maglorii*'s early chapters are a brief précis of parts of the VSS, or perhaps the lost *gesta Samsonis* to which the author refers. Maglorius is a largely passive character in this part of the narrative, following largely in Samson's footsteps. Samson's career as it is presented in the *Vita Maglorii* has been adapted to fit with the ideals of *correctio*. The *Vita Maglorii* places particular emphasis on pastoral care and episcopal responsibilities. The comprehensive and sustained alterations merit close comparison with the VSS.

The circumstances of Samson's election in the VSS are too long and detailed to recount at length here. He is ordained after both he and Dubricius see visions in which Samson is ordained by angels.³¹ Richard Sowerby details how this episode is rewritten to emphasise, implicitly, Samson's right to the *pallium*.³² Although a talent for preaching is one of the many virtues that makes Samson worthy of the rank of deacon, it is not overly laboured in the ordination scene in the VSS. Samson's election in the *Vita Maglorii* is recounted far more briefly than in the VSS. In the *Vita Maglorii*, Samson is elected because he is considered worthy '*gregem Domini pontificali praelatione regeret*'.³³ The rank of bishop here is immediately linked to pastoral responsibility. Two sentences later, responsibility for pastoral care becomes quite literally synonymous with the role of bishop. The narrator states that Samson made Maglorius his deputy '*assumpta sarcina pastoralis sollicitudine*' (after his ordination).³⁴ The monastic virtues and angelic visions of the VPS and VSS have vanished entirely, to be replaced by an emphasis solely on pastoral care.

Around 865, the VSS' author could present an idealised picture of Samson in which the saint leaves Britain immediately after his ordination to lead a life of pilgrimage, having displayed no interest

³⁰ Smith, "Maglorius".

³¹ Plaine, '*Vita antiqua*', Bk I, ch. 14, pp. 105-6.

³² Sowerby, 'The Lives of St Samson', pp. 26-8.

³³ *Vita Maglorii*, ch. 1 (to rule the flock of the Lord with the preference of a bishop).

³⁴ *Vita Maglorii*, ch. 2 (after assuming the burden of pastoral care).

whatsoever in his flock (if indeed he had one). Within perhaps just a few years, this picture was rewritten to present a completely different idea, one which emphasised pastoral care and interaction with the laity. In the VSS, Samson's reasons for leaving Britain are articulated by an angel, whose speech does not entirely omit the ideal of preaching and pastoral care, but who focuses far more on the idea of pilgrimage. In the VSS, Samson's destiny as a pilgrim and bishop is identified by an angel, but the episcopal duty of pastoral care is never mentioned in the angel's speech.³⁵

It is only after Samson's arrival in Britain that the ideal of pastoral care appears, sitting rather awkwardly with the motivation of pilgrimage invoked by the angel. In the *Vita Maglorii*, in contrast, the narrator rather than an angel recounts Samson's motivations for leaving Britain, which become purely pastoral. As a result, the motivation of exile is omitted entirely:

*Cum qua plebe diu per nox persistens ... innumeris claruit...exemplis et documentis' ... percurrentibus quibusdam annis ... non inmemor uerborum Domini dicentis, "euntes per uniuersum mundum docete omnes gentes baptizantes eos in nomine patris et filii et Spiritu Sancti" ... ad praedicandum populo eiusdem lingue in occidente consistenti mare transfretauit.*³⁶

The motivation has been changed so that older, perhaps more typically Breton emphasis on asceticism and solitude has been replaced by one much more in keeping with typically Carolingian, pastoral ideas about what it meant to be a bishop.

There is a similar, though less pronounced, contrast between the two works in the scene of Samson's death. In the VSS, Samson's death is preceded by a homily on the transience of life and a monk's need for the typically monastic activities of prayer and self-examination.³⁷ In contrast, in the *Vita Maglorii*, Samson bequeaths responsibility for the people to Maglorius when he nominates him as his successor, telling him, '*tu [Maglorius] autem super caulas dominici gregis iam tibi commissas peruigil et sollicitus esto*'.³⁸ One should allow for the fact that these recommendations are addressed to different audiences. The first is addressed to Samson's monks and by extension the ninth-century monastic community of Dol and the second is addressed to an individual (future) bishop. Yet this still

³⁵ Plaine, '*Vita antiqua*', Bk I, ch. 15, pp. 107-8, translated in note 46 above.

³⁶ *Vita Maglorii*, ch. 2-3a. (With which plebs ... remaining day and night, he shone with innumerable examples and instructions; after the passing of some years ... not forgetful of the word of God, saying, 'go through the whole world teaching all peoples, baptising them in the name of the Father, the Son and Holy Ghost; he crossed the Channel to preach to the people of his language dwelling across the sea).

³⁷ Plaine, '*Vita antiqua*' Bk II, ch. 26, pp. 148-9.

³⁸ *Vita Maglorii*, ch. 4. (You, however, must be awake and watchful over the sheepfold of the Lord's flock now committed to you.)

represents a change in focus from the monastic to the pastoral, one that is surprising perhaps in a text ostensibly written for the monastic community of Léhon.

The VSS envisaged no separation of monastic and pastoral roles, largely adding preaching to Samson's activities, rather than using it to replace accounts of more solitary or monastic devotion. Like the renewed emphasis on pastoral care, this separation is epitomised in the *Vita Maglorii*. The *Vita Maglorii* shifts Samson and Maglorius away from a monastic setting to a clerical setting more appropriate to a bishop and a deacon. Maglorius is never depicted as a monk until his abdication.

The VSS describes Samson departing from Britain in the company of monks and disciples, '*navigationem ... destinavit comitantibus cum eo plerisque monachis et multis discipulis ...*'³⁹ When the author of the *Vita Maglorii* described the same scene, however, he replaced the monks with clerics: '*quorundam tam clericorum quam laicorum collegio recessit et ad praedicandum populo eiusdem linguae*'⁴⁰ The same author made a similar substitution when describing Maglorius' promotion to the status of deacon. The VSS author depicts Samson making his kinsman deacon and head of a monastery: '*consobrino suo ... officio diaconatus suscepto, atque illo monasterio ... suo commendato*'⁴¹ The author of the *Vita Maglorii* instead depicted Maglorius as deacon and responsible not for a monastery but for a parish: '*Maglorio ... consecrationem diaconi officium imposuit ... super plebem suam ... constituit*'⁴² This represents a clear shift from the monastic ideal so present in Samson's first and second *vitae* to a pastoral one. It also reflects a separation between the monastic and clerical roles that the VSS author was happy to combine.

Just as it embraces *correctio* by showing its subjects engaging in pastoral care in their roles as priest and bishop, the *Vita Maglorii* reveals a fuller, stricter interpretation of *correctio* than the anonymous *vitae*. Unlike Samson, Maglorius cannot leave his flock and much less embark on a life of solitude and still retain his rank as bishop; he has to abdicate first. Even so, he cannot take this step of his own volition. A greater authority must be invoked, in this case an angel who appears to him in a dream. The gulf between pastoral and monastic vocations is evoked in the angel's speech:

*“actenus quidem Maglori, ad regendum gregem domini sub episcopatus
regimine publica habitatione conuersatus [es]. Nunc autem ut simplici oculo
totum corpus tuum [lucidi] existens, indefessas domini laudes licentius celebrare*

³⁹ Plaine, '*Vita antiqua*', Bk II, ch. 1 p. 118 line 16-8 (he set out on the journey...with companions and many monks and many disciples).

⁴⁰ *Vita Maglorii*, ch. 3a (and with a company of clerics and laymen he retired to preach to the people of his language).

⁴¹ Plaine, '*Vita antiqua*', Bk II, ch. 1 p. 118, lines 12-4 (his kinsman...received the office of deacon, and he commended the monastery [to him]).

⁴² *Vita Maglorii*, ch. 2, lines 88-9 (on Maglorius ... he placed the consecration of the office of deacon...he set him over his parish).

*queas, hinc egredere et ad quaedam [remuneratoris] loci latibula solitariam
[ducens uitam] proficiscere.*"⁴³

Despite this angelic instruction, the hagiographer still seems troubled by the idea of Maglorius abandoning his flock. Maglorius' vision and abdication follow a break in the narrative that takes the reader from Dol back to Insular Britain and Maglorius' childhood. Whilst this serves partly to obscure Maglorius' lack of activity as bishop, it has an additional purpose. By describing earthly, tangible evidence of Maglorius' contact with angels immediately beforehand, the hagiographer demonstrates that the angel in Maglorius' dream is not merely a figment of his imagination, but a *bona fide* divine messenger who must be obeyed. Maglorius' apparent dereliction of his duty as bishop is not therefore sinful, but ordained by God. The hagiographer's narrative contortions suggest an intense effort to ensure that his subject was not seen to do anything that might undermine the image of Dol's bishops and hence its metropolitan claims. This is a much stricter interpretation of a bishop's responsibilities, and of separation between monastic and pastoral roles, than in any of the other Breton *vitae*. It is stricter even than many interpretations of this separation in Frankia. In practice, it was not unusual for a bishop to spend his last years in a monastic community.⁴⁴ The passage also suggests anxiety over the validity of visions and angelic visitations that would later be echoed in the *Obitus*.⁴⁵ The *Vita Maglorii* undoubtedly gives the strictest interpretation of *correctio* in any of the ninth- or even early tenth-century Breton corpus. As the following chapter will demonstrate, this is consistently linked to Dol's metropolitan ambitions.

Why might this emphasis on *correctio* help to bolster Dol's claims? First, it demonstrates a willingness to conform to Tours' and the papacy's instructions in other matters, helping rather than hindering Dol's cause. Second, it forms an argument that Dol's own bishops are able to correct the Breton people, obviating the need for interference by outsiders. Third, the implementation of correct Christianity in Brittany and for the whole Breton people is depicted as Samson's vocation, implicitly justifying his role as archbishop.

This strict interpretation of *correctio*, and especially the emphasis on preaching, is tied to the idea of Samson having responsibility for the Bretons as a *gens*, an idea that does not appear to the same extent in the VPS, where he ministers in both *Romania* and *Brittania*, or in the VSS, in which he is sent to Brittany to preach to *gentes* in the plural.⁴⁶ In the *Vita Maglorii*, the idea of Samson preaching

⁴³ *Vita Maglorii*, ch. 6 (Thus far, indeed Maglorius, you have been wont to rule the flock of the Lord in public under the rule of a bishop. Now however, so that you may be free to celebrate unwearied praises of God, keeping your whole body as a single clear eye, go from here and set out to lead a solitary life in remote, hidden places).

⁴⁴ McKitterick gives the example, much further east, of reforming bishop, Haito of Basle, who retired to a monastery in 823, see: McKitterick, *The Frankish Church*, p. 69.

⁴⁵ *Obitus Maglorii*, ch. 1.

⁴⁶ VPS, Bk II, ch. 61, pp. 234-5; Plaine, 'Vita antiqua', Bk II, ch. 11, p. 119, line 13.

specifically to ‘his people’ appears repeatedly. In the main text, Samson travels to preach to the people *eiusdem lingue*.⁴⁷ In the first commentary, this idea is repeated and drawn out still further. The commentaries make four references to Samson being called to preach to ‘his people’.⁴⁸ The association between him and specifically the people of Brittany underlines his vocation as archbishop of this particular people, and thus of the entire Breton province, not just of Dol.

This link between Samson and the Breton people is borne out in the Biblical parallels on which the first two passages of commentary rely. In the first, Samson is repeatedly equated with the Biblical leaders of Israel, Moses and Samson.⁴⁹ The equation of a saint with Moses is not unusual in hagiography, and indeed it appears in the VPS and VSS.⁵⁰ The comparison of a people with Israel was hardly unusual either; it was made repeatedly by Carolingian authors and was central to Carolingian self-promotion.⁵¹ The comparison here, however, is particularly drawn out and particularly insistent. Importantly, the comparison with Moses, and the repeated emphasis on his Biblical namesake the judge Samson, implicitly makes Samson a pastoral leader and judge of the whole Breton people, just as Moses and Samson were judges of the Israelites.

The second comparison appears during the narrative break which takes Maglorius and the reader from Dol back to Insular Britain and which describes the angel filling the child Maglorius’ wax tablet with letters.⁵² This faintly echoes Samson’s childhood ability to learn his letters.⁵³ However, it more strongly echoes Moses’ receipt of Biblical laws, this time written in stone. Again, the hagiographer makes this comparison directly in the commentary.

Quid ... per elementa *in tabulis lapideis*⁵⁴ adfixa amantissimo domini Moysi collata,
nisi dira priscae legis mandata ...? Quid per litterarum in cera, assertionem beato
Maglorio attributan[tur?], nisi melliflua sancti euuangelii gratia exprimit?⁵⁵

⁴⁷ *Vita Maglorii*, ch. 3a, line 97.

⁴⁸ *Vita Magorii*, 3b, lines 109, 112, 122 and 129.

⁴⁹ *Vita Magorii*, 3b.

⁵⁰ Samson compares his departure from his family to a departure from Egypt: VPS, Bk I, ch. 24, p. 138. See also, Richard Sowerby, ‘A family and its saint’ in the *Vita Prima Samsonis*, in Olson, *St Samson of Dol*, pp. 19-36. This comparison is retained in the VSS: Plaine, ‘*Vita antiqua*’, Bk I, ch. 9, p. 95. In the VSS, Samson prays for bread and water for his disciples, to God, ‘*qui Israeliticis populis in Choreb fontem dederat*’ (‘who had given a fountain to the people of Israel in Horeb’, i.e. in the desert after departure from Egypt). Interestingly, the simile appears in Cornwall, before Samson’s arrival in Brittany. See: Plaine, ‘*Vita antiqua*’, Bk I, ch. 17, p. 111, lines 26-7.

⁵¹ A critical glance at the uses of Biblical comparisons in the early medieval west, focused largely on Frankia is provided by: Garrison, ‘The Franks as the New Israel?’ pp. 114-61.

⁵² *Vita Maglorii*, ch. 5a. For the corresponding commentary, see ch. 5b.

⁵³ VPS, Bk I, ch. 10, pp. 162-3. Ian Wood notes that Samson’s rapid learning may in fact be a humorous play on words: Ian Wood, ‘Forgery in Merovingian hagiography’, in H. Fuhrmann, ed. *Fälschungen im Mittelalter: Internationaler Kongress der Monumenta Germaniae Historica V* (Hanover, 1988), pp. 369-84, p. 15.

⁵⁴ Vulgate, Dt, 4, 13.

⁵⁵ *Vita Maglorii*, ch. 5b. (What ... is expressed by letters fixed and joined in stone tablets by the most beloved lord Moses...? What [is meant] by the assertion of letters in wax attributed to the blessed Maglorius, unless it expresses the sweet grace of the holy Gospel?). For Moses’ receipt of the Biblical law in stone tablets, see: Ex. 24, 12.

The idea of the wax as a means of expressing the ‘honey’ of the Gospels was a well-used and well-known motif for the allegorical process itself, the process of drawing spiritual understanding from a text or from Scripture mirroring the slow process of removing honey from the wax of a honey-comb.⁵⁶ Here, as well as expressing the difficulties of interpreting Scripture, the motif suggest that Maglorius learns the Gospel just as miraculously as Moses receives the Old Testament laws of the Israelites. One interpretation, if it does not read too much into the parallel, is that by extension, Maglorius too has a direct mandate from God to preach to his people. The comparison with Moses is by no means unique to archbishops, but it is a particularly apt comparison in the *Life* of an ‘archbishop’ whose status as such was subject to question. Although he may have had little evidence for Maglorius’ activities as bishop, the hagiographer still manages, by means of this Biblical parallel, to underline Maglorius’ role not merely as bishop, but potentially as archbishop and certainly as leader of the Bretons.

Developments over the later ninth century and the influence of Dol: the anonymous vitae Machutis (c. 870-c. 900)

The AVM were written a decade or more after Bili’s work and indeed after the *Vita Maglorii*, which their anonymous authors had clearly read.⁵⁷ The anonymous authors who rewrote Bili’s work made comprehensive changes to it. These alterations were varied. They shifted the focus of the narrative away from Brittany, Frankia and Aquitaine back towards Insular Britain and, most well-known of all, appear to support Dol’s claims to supremacy by relocating Machutus’ ordination to Insular Britain.⁵⁸ They also introduced two aspects of *correctio* absent from their hypotext: increased emphasis on pastoral care and the separation of monastic and pastoral roles.

Bili depicted Machutus building monasteries shortly after his arrival in Alet: ‘*Per famulum suum Machutem ... monasteria et cellulae, ubi non modice monachorum congregationes Deo servire videbantur, constructa esse noscuntur*’.⁵⁹ The anonymous authors replaced this passage with one in which Machutus preaches to the populace: ‘*Machutus antistes edocere et instruere populum et ad*

⁵⁶ De Lubac, *L'exégèse médiévale*, pp. 599-620.

⁵⁷ Poulin notes that he makes Maglorius and Samson cousins both of each other and of Machutus – a relationship almost certainly drawn from the *Vita Maglorii*, which makes Maglorius and Samson cousins, although the *Vita Maglorii* omits Machutus. See AVM, ch. 1, p. 295; *Vita Maglorii*, ch. 1. This observation was originally noted in manuscript form by F. Duine and reported by Merdrignac, in *Recherches sur l'hagiographie armoricaine du VIIe au XVe siècle* vol 1, *Les saints Bretons, témoins de Dieu ou témoins des hommes?* (St-Malo, 1985), p. 85. See also Poulin, *L'hagiographie bretonne*, p. 174 for a few verbal echoes between the *Vita Maglorii* and the AVM.

⁵⁸ Poulin, *L'hagiographie bretonne*, p. 183.

⁵⁹ ‘*La Vita Machutis par Bili*’, ch. 31 (there were built by his servant St Machutus, both in that city and throughout the islands and nearby places, monasteries and cells, where no small number of monks were seen to serve the congregations of God).

viam veritatis vocare et attrahere'.⁶⁰ This section shows that Machutus' first and his later, anonymous hagiographies reflect different ideas about bishops' responsibilities and hold their subjects to subtly different ideals. In Bili's work, Machutus actively avoids the laity, first living as a hermit and later taking on the duties of abbot by overseeing his diocese's monasteries (though the word *abbas* is never used). By removing Machutus' eremitic activities and instead depicting him preaching, the anonymous authors demonstrated greater understanding and acceptance of *correctio* and of a bishop's obligations to his flock.

By making these changes, the anonymous authors achieved the additional aim of removing Machutus from control of the region's monasteries, perhaps reflecting a recent separation between the cathedral and monastic communities, and one that the cathedral community may perhaps have resisted. Poulin has drawn attention to the potential for conflict with the monks of Saint-Malo created by Bili's claim that Machutus had jurisdiction over the diocese's monasteries.⁶¹ The removal of Machutus from jurisdiction over the region's monasteries in the first extract quoted above seems not to have been coincidental and supports Poulin's point. A similar alteration appears a few chapters later, which also removes Machutus from jurisdiction over a monastic cell. Bili wrote that Machutus '*monasteria amore discipulorum circuiens transiret*'.⁶² The anonymous authors in contrast claim that Machutus:

'transiret ... sacer divini verbi uberrimus sator et thesaurorum Dei haud segnis fenerator, per regionem Britannicam, serendo Evangelii semina regnumque Dei pollicendo credentibus et mandata ejus observantibus et obedientiam adhibentibus.'⁶³

On a religious and organisational level, these extracts emphasise again a separation of monastic and pastoral roles and importantly for the monastic community, the removal of bishops from authority over monastic communities. Saint-Malo's support for *correctio* and for Breton separatism is far less enthusiastic than that of Maglorius' hagiographer, and religious change is unlikely to be the sole reason behind the anonymous authors' reaction to Bili's work. The anonymous hagiographers' motives for removing Machutus from more monastic settings probably lay closer to home, reflecting the monks' desire to extricate themselves from the oversight of the bishops of Alet. Desire to promote the monks' own interests, and to embrace *correctio*, combine.

⁶⁰ 'La plus ancienne vie de saint Malo', ch. 15. ii, p. 313 (the ... priest Machutus began to teach and instruct the people and to call and draw them to the way of truth).

⁶¹ Poulin, *L'hagiographie bretonne*, p. 169.

⁶² 'La *Vita Machutis* par Bili', ch. 34, p. 375 (he travelled around his monasteries for love of his disciples).

⁶³ 'La plus ancienne vie de saint Malo', ch. 17, p. 316 (when the same holy man filled abundantly with the divine word and treasures of God travelled by no means inactive through the region of Brittany, sowing the seed of the Gospels and the kingdom of God, promising those who believed and commanded obedience to those how observed and heeded).

Nonetheless, both Machutus' pastoral work and the separation between monastic and pastoral roles exactly reflect the activities prescribed for Carolingian priests and bishops in the Carolingian reform councils, but which are notably absent from earlier Breton hagiographies.⁶⁴ As such, it is difficult to see these changes as anything other than symptoms of the growing influence of *correctio* in Carolingian Brittany and, more specifically, as a reflection of changes in the ideals to which the bishops of Alet, and perhaps those of other Breton foundations, were held. The hagiographers' own language hints at such a motivation. Their claim that on Machutus', Samson' and Maglorius' arrival some of the local Bretons at least were 'barely Christian' echoes Ermold and his contemporaries' condemnations of the Bretons and the Carolingians' Merovingian predecessors.⁶⁵ Here, however, the condemnation is decoupled from the ideals of empire; in the AVM, it is not the Franks who convert the Bretons, but the British saints Machutus, Samson and Maglorius. The Frankish achievement of *correctio* is recast as a British one. Maglorius, Samson and Maglorius then are no different from the Carolingian clerics who had sought to reform the Frankish churches a few generations earlier. This narrative asserts not only that these British saints succeeded in reforming the Bretons, but that they did so three centuries before the Carolingian church hierarchy reformed the people and churches of Frankia. Although this passage does not argue directly for continued separation from Tours, it depicts a Brittany that has never been the 'barbarous', 'almost Christian' nation of Frankish rhetoric. Hence, it implies the Bretons and their churches have no need of Carolingian intervention via a Frankish metropolitan.

It is probably no coincidence that the anonymous *vitae Machutis* also introduce Samson and Maglorius, albeit without their titles, into the narrative of conversion, '*Samson eadem sua salubria ac salutifera agebat urbe opera, qui, patruelis felicis Machutis atque Maglorii, gemina conditione existebat.*'⁶⁶ Significantly, Samson arrives in Brittany first, implicitly giving him precedence over Machutus and Maglorius. This rejection of the need for intervention from Tours appears hand in hand with sympathy for Dol's claims. It may have been a deliberate justification for Breton separatism.

Developments over the later ninth century: the Vita Pauli Aureliani (c. 884)

As the only other contemporary *Life* of a Breton bishop, Wrmonoc's *Vita Pauli Aureliani* offers a point of comparison for Machutus', Samson's and indeed Maglorius' careers. Usefully, it can be precisely dated to 884, making it roughly contemporary with the anonymous *vitae Machutis*.⁶⁷ It was

⁶⁴ See McKitterick, *The Frankish Church*, pp. 5-10; *Admonitio Generalis*, ch. 61, p. 58.

⁶⁵ 'La plus ancienne vie de saint Malo', ch. 15, p. 313, '*erant Britanni penitus christiani*'; for comparisons with Frankish writers, see among others: Ermold, *Carmen in honorem Hludowici*, p. 42, vs. 43.

⁶⁶ 'La plus ancienne vie de saint Malo', ch. 15. ii (Indeed, St Samson similarly worked his health-giving and healing deeds in the city, who lived like a twin with his fruitful paternal cousins Machutus and Maglorius.)

⁶⁷ Plaine, '*Vita Pauli*', *Prologue*, p. 211.

written further west, at the monastic community of Landévennec, although it reflects traditions from Saint-Pol itself, on the north coast of Brittany.⁶⁸ Wrmonoc's literary influences and style are markedly Insular, but this did not mean that he rejected Carolingian norms in either pastoral care or the separation of monastic and clerical communities.⁶⁹

For much of the *Life*, Paul is a monk, leading a life of contemplation and prayer. Indeed, it is quite possible that his status as bishop was a recent, posthumous addition to his legend. He has a brief stint as priest in Insular Britain, during which he engages in pastoral work: '*iura christianissimae sive praedicando, sive exemplum bonae operationis praedendo, religionis regem et omnem populum edocens*'.⁷⁰ Notably, he does not engage in these activities before he is appointed to the priesthood. Not long after his appointment, Paul leaves Britain for Brittany where he again lives as a monk; pastoral care is not mentioned again until he is elected bishop.⁷¹ His time as bishop covers only a brief section towards the end of the narrative.⁷²

Wrmonoc saw a bishop's responsibilities as being tied to pastoral care and the correction of the community. They are articulated in the people's request to Paul to accept the office of bishop: '*implorarent, ut pontificatus gradum accipiendo, omnes ab erroribus suis ad viam veritatis converteret*'.⁷³ Paul's activities in the following section contrast with those during his time as monk. In the few brief chapters after Paul's consecration, Wrmonoc outlines his duties, which include quashing paganism, founding churches and correcting the people through preaching and miracles: '*Destructis vero templis in cultu antiquitus daemonum fabricatis, diversas in circuitu ecclesias atque monasteria cultui divino mancipata construere iussit...omnes convertit ad fidei verae unitatem*'.⁷⁴

The VPA shows that neither Samson's, nor Maglorius' nor Machutus' anonymous hagiographers were alone in linking bishops' roles with pastoral care or depicting a separation between pastoral and monastic roles. Even more than his fellow hagiographers at Saint-Malo, and perhaps because he wrote for a clerical rather than for a monastic community, Wrmonoc links the roles of priest and bishop with responsibility for the people. Like Machutus' anonymous hagiographers, Wrmonoc links his subject's

⁶⁸ Ibid. *Prologue*, p. 211 (Wrmonoc states that he writes in the same monastery as Wrdisten, the author of the *Vita Winwaloei*, patron of Landévennec).

⁶⁹ For Wrmonoc's literary influences, style and influence from Saint-Pol itself, see among others: Smith, 'Oral and Written', pp. 309–43; François Kerlouégan, 'Une mode stylistique dans la prose latine', *Etudes Celtiques* 13 (1972), pp. 275–97.

⁷⁰ Plaine, '*Vita Pauli*', Bk I, ch. 8 (20), p. 228 (the most Christian law then to preach, then to take the example of good works, teaching the king and all the people of religion).

⁷¹ Ibid. Bk II, ch. 1 (33), p. 233.

⁷² Ibid. Bk II, ch. 19 (61)-20 (63), pp. 251-53.

⁷³ Ibid. Bk II, ch. 19 (57), p. 249 (they implored that he would accept the rank of bishop, and that he might convert all from their errors to the way of truth).

⁷⁴ Ibid. Bk II, ch. 20 (62), p. 252 (Indeed, he destroyed the temples built for the ancient worship of demons, he ordered various churches to be built round about and monasteries to be given over to holy worship...he converted all to the uniformity of true faith).

activity as bishop with the idea that the Bretons were ‘barely Christian’ and in need of conversion.⁷⁵ Like Machutus’ anonymous hagiographers again, Wrmonoc decouples this idea from its origins in Carolingian imperial rhetoric. Wrmonoc’s Bretons owe their conversion to the British Paul, ordained on the initiative of the Breton count Withur. Despite Wrmonoc’s insistence on the superiority of the Frankish emperor over Withur, he does not cast *correctio* as a Frankish achievement. And despite Wrmonoc’s deference to Frankish imperial power in the form of the Frankish emperor Childebert, he creates a narrative of reform that obviates the need for reform via the Frankish churches and Tours.

Wrmonoc and his contemporaries at Saint-Malo may have been voicing ideas then current in the Breton churches quite independently. It is not impossible, however, that one of the authors had read the other’s work. Machutus was feted at Saint-Pol by the time Bili wrote around c. 870, so the similarities in these authors’ attitudes to *correctio* might owe something to direct influence from Machutus’ cult at Saint-Pol. The foundations also take a similar approach to loyalty to Tours, circumventing the question of loyalty to Tours or Dol by removing their subject’s episcopal consecration from Brittany entirely.⁷⁶ Again, *correctio* seems to appear alongside hints at support for separatism for the Breton churches.

Wrmonoc also observes the recommended separation between monastic and pastoral roles, switching Paul’s activities from the contemplative to the pastoral and back again depending on the role he inhabits at any given point in the narrative. A separation between Paul’s Breton foundations appears at the end of the narrative. Wrmonoc describes two communities, a monastic one on the Isle de Batz and a clerical community at his episcopal seat on the mainland. There is a clear geographical separation between the *monachos insulae* and the *sacerdotes oppidi*.⁷⁷ The division between the communities appears only in the final chapters of the work, and reads in many ways as an afterthought. It is tempting to suggest that the separation between the two communities may recently have become more entrenched when Paul wrote. Wrmonoc describes a contest between the monastic and clerical communities for Paul’s relics. This may be a hagiographical commonplace, but may also hint at tensions or difficulties in separating property and cult objects as a single clerical community

⁷⁵ Ibid. Bk II, ch. 19(57), p. 249, ‘*eadem ad quem venerat patria totius pene christianiaaea religionis expers erat*’ (the country to which he came was almost wholly devoid of the Christian religion).

⁷⁶ Paul is ordained at Philibert’s court by three unnamed bishops. His hagiographer thus avoids committing his subject to subordination either to Dol or to Tours. Owen Chadwick argued that this echoed the ‘Celtic’ rite of ordination by three bishops: Plaine, ‘*Vita Pauli*’, Bk II, ch. 19(61), p. 251. For the ‘Celtic’ manner of ordination, see: O. Chadwick, ‘the evidence of dedications in the early history of the Welsh church’, in N. K. Chadwick, ed. *Studies in Early British History*, (Cambridge, 1954), pp. 173-4 [this chapter could not be consulted directly due to COVID restrictions]. The VPS’ use of the *Vita Paterni* as a source complicates Chadwick’s ‘Celtic’ ordination theory, however, since Samson’s vision of his ordination by three bishops in the VSS is in fact based on the *Vita Paterni*. It is from the VPS that Wrmonoc probably took Paul’s ordination by three fellow bishops. For the most recent and detailed study of the relationship between the two texts, see: Brett, ‘The hare and the tortoise’.

⁷⁷ Plaine, ‘*Vita Pauli*’, ch. 23 (70), p. 256 (‘monks of the island’ and ‘priests of the city’).

was separated into two – one monastic and one secular.⁷⁸ This echoes the possible tensions between Alet and Saint-Malo that seem to be reflected in the different *Vitae Machutis*.

Conclusion

These texts undoubtedly provide evidence that Carolingian ideals of bishops' involvement in pastoral care made inroads into Brittany, along with the ideal of separation between monastic and pastoral roles. Changing ideals in hagiography need not, however, have translated into change on the ground, where arrangements for pastoral care appear to have remained fairly conservative. Real-world changes in pastoral care may have been limited, too, by the lesser interest shown in the theme at monastic than at pastoral centres. The ideal was increasingly present in Breton literature, but it is unclear how effective it was in real life during the ninth century.

There is some evidence that pastoral centres remained much more conservative in their attitudes than monastic centres for the remainder of the century. This may well account for some of the conservatism of the VSS and BVM and for the more advanced state of *correctio* in the AVM and perhaps the VPA and *Vita Maglorii*, too. That the ideal also developed over time can be demonstrated clearly by comparing the earlier and later versions of Machutus' and Samson's hagiographies. This comparison also implies that this development occurred particularly rapidly in the late 860s and in the 870s, which suggests that the events of 866 may have acted as a catalyst.

These events may have facilitated or furthered the contact that already existed between Breton and Frankish churches, particularly perhaps for cathedrals such as Alet, which may have been more directly affected by the split from Tours twenty years earlier. More importantly however, the rejection of Dol's claims seems to have led its clergy to make serious attempts to legitimise their claims specifically by means of using the theme of pastoral care and by extension emphasis on some aspects of *correctio* to legitimise their and Samson's authority. In his paraphrased hagiography within the *Vita Maglorii*, Samson's pastoral skills help to underline his suitability as archbishop. By means of commentaries, the hagiographer argues that he and Maglorius were destined to preach to the Breton people as a whole, not just those within Dol's minute diocese. The development of pastoral care as a duty for Breton bishops may not therefore be quite such a direct consequence of Carolingian ambitions in Brittany as it might seem at first glance. Rather, it may reflect the power of Tours and the papacy to force the clergy of Dol and the Breton churches to justify their independence on their own terms and within a Carolingian political and intellectual framework. By (re-)casting Samson's, Maglorius, Machutus' and Paul's vocations as those of missionaries, not hermits, they demonstrated

⁷⁸ Ibid. ch. 23 (70-1), pp. 256-7.

that the Breton people and churches had been converted to 'correct' Christianity by their own saints in the sixth century, implicitly removing the need for the Breton churches to be reformed via Tours in the ninth. This move towards separatism for the Breton churches will be the subject of the next chapter.

Chapter 8: Dol's ambitions after 866

Introduction

The Breton churches' renewed emphasis on pastoral care, might seem a simple and quantifiable measure of Breton cohesion with the Carolingian church and the wider Empire. Yet as chapter 7 demonstrated, the picture was far more complicated. Acceptance of reform and of the Emperor's rule did not necessarily go hand in hand with acceptance of Tours' authority or the abandonment of Dol's claims. This chapter explores how Dol promoted its metropolitan claims in Maglorius' hagiography, and how these claims were subsequently echoed in milder form in the other Breton hagiographies.

The Breton churches and their relationship with Tours

The area that is now Brittany had formed part of the diocese of Tours since the Roman era. The early days of Breton settlement in the sixth century saw the displacement of some of the Roman episcopal seats in the north of the region, such as the shift of the seat of the Coriosolites from Corseul to Alet.¹ The same period also saw the arrival of at least one 'bishop without portfolio' in the person of Samson, who appears to have been the head of a monastery at Dol but not of any wider diocese.² It is unclear how far these new bishoprics and their leaders submitted to Tours' authority. The presence of Samson, at the council of Paris in the sixth century, and perhaps that of *Mansuetus, episcopus Brittanorum* at the council of Tours in the fifth, shows that some or all of the region's bishops considered themselves to be part of the Gaulish or Frankish church hierarchy and that they were recognised as such by their Frankish contemporaries.³ It may be significant that those whose sees have been identified were all based in the east of the region, perhaps indicating that they were more integrated into Frankia than those of the west, even in the post-Roman era. A ruling at the council of Tours in 567 states that 'no-one, Breton or Roman' should be ordained without the consent of the metropolitan and a panel of bishops, offering early evidence that Tours' control over the election and consecration of Breton bishops may have been tenuous.⁴ This ruling does not seem to have been obeyed. If the Breton bishops attended Frankish church councils through the seventh and eighth

¹ See Pietri, 'Organisation de la Province', in Pietri and Biarne, *Province Ecclésiastique de Tours*, pp. 12-17; Chadwick, *Early Brittany*, pp. 240-3.

² For the most recent analysis of Samson's position, see: Olson, 'Introduction' in Olson, *St Samson of Dol*, pp. 1-18, esp. pp. 12-5; Lynette Olson, 'British and Irish colonial churches: an alternative model to the "Celtic Church"' in Pamela O'Neill, ed. *Nation and Federation in the Celtic World* (Sydney, 2003), pp. 298-303.

³ For an overview, see: Pietri 'Organisation de la province', in Pietri and Biarne, *Province ecclésiastique de Tours*, pp. 11-20, esp. pp. 14-17. For Mansuetus, see: *Concilia Galliae*, Concilium Turonense I a. 461, p. 148. For Samson at the Council of Paris, see: Jean Gaudemet and Brigitte Basdevant, eds. *Les canons des conciles mérovingiens (vie-viie siècles): textes latins de l'édition C. de Clercq, introduction, traduction et notes*, vol. II (Paris, 1989), p. 424.

⁴ Ian Wood, 'Columbanus, the Britons and the Merovingian church', in Olson, ed. *Samson of Dol*, pp. 103-14; *Concilia Galliae*, Concilium Turonense a. 567, article 9, p. 179.

centuries, no evidence of this has survived.⁵ It is possible that the Breton bishops operated with considerable independence from Tours, perhaps consecrating one another rather than relying on their ‘official’ metropolitan for consecration.⁶

Tours’ influence over the Breton churches seems to have increased briefly during the early decades of the ninth century, only to decline after 848.⁷ This was the year when Nominoë dismissed five of his bishops and consecrated their replacements uncanonically, without the consent of their metropolitan at Tours and without proper ordination there.⁸ This seems to have led to a schism between the Frankish and Breton churches, involving the excommunication of the uncanonically-elected bishops.⁹ In 866, clerics at the council of Soissons wrote to Pope Nicholas I that the Breton bishops had not been consecrated at Tours, or attended church councils since around 848.¹⁰

The dispute received more Frankish and papal attention in the mid 860s, by which time Nominoë had been succeeded by Salomon. Tours and the papacy seem to have been increasingly keen to bring the Breton churches under control, but recognised only some of the Breton bishops who had been consecrated uncanonically on Nominoë’s orders.¹¹ Pope Nicholas I put pressure on Salomon to consent to a proper trial, presided over by an archbishop, for those of the deposed men who were still living.¹² Meanwhile, Salomon also seems to have developed ambitions to set himself up as a petty ‘king’ with all the regalia and retinue that implied. He may also have wanted to create a sense of unity in Brittany, an area that had only been under the rule of one man since c. 830.¹³ Creating an archbishopric at Dol might achieve all these aims. It would be a useful tool in increasing his own standing and unifying Brittany as a province.¹⁴ It would also provide him with an archbishop (if not the required jury of twelve bishops) with which to try the deposed bishops in Brittany itself and resolve the dispute to his satisfaction.¹⁵ In 865, he must have written to the pope requesting the

⁵ Davies, *Small Worlds*, p. 24.

⁶ Chadwick, ‘The evidence of dedications in the early history of the Welsh church’, suggests Breton episcopal consecrations may have involved a panel of three bishops. Julia Smith suggests that this may have been how consecrations were carried out after the schism from Tours from 848: Smith, ‘the archbishopric of Dol’, pp. 64-5.

⁷ Smith notes the brief absorption of the Breton churches into the Carolingian hierarchy before 848, ‘the archbishopric of Dol’, pp. 62-3.

⁸ Nominoë’s actions were reconstructed by Lot, who mistakenly followed the Chronicle of Nantes in linking the dismissal of the Breton bishops with the attempt to create an archbishopric of Dol: see: Lot, ‘Le schisme breton du ix^e siècle’. The attempt to create an archbishopric at Dol was later dated to the mid 860s by Julia Smith, see: Smith, ‘archbishopric of Dol’. See also: Smith, *Province and Empire*, pp. 154-61 and Chédeville and Guillotel, *La Bretagne*, pp. 266-73. For evidence of Nominoë’s dismissal and replacement of Breton bishops, see: Nicholas I, *Epistula*, MGH Epp IV, pp. 619-22 and GSR, Bk II, ch. 10, pp. 174-82.

⁹ *Concilium Savonnières* 859, eMGH Conc. III, pp. 460-81.

¹⁰ The letter was copied into the eleventh-century Chronicle of Nantes and survives only in this form: *Chronique de Nantes*, ch. 16, pp. 51-7.

¹¹ Smith, *Province and Empire*, pp. 157-8; *Concilium Savonnières* 859, pp. 480-1.

¹² Smith, *Province and Empire*, pp. 158-9; Nicholas I, *Epistula*, MGH Epp IV, pp. 619-22.

¹³ Smith, ‘the archbishopric’ of Dol.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 68-70.

¹⁵ Smith, *Province and Empire*, pp. 158-9.

pallium, signifying metropolitan rank, for Festinian bishop of Dol. Although Salomon's letters do not survive, a number of the Pope's replies do.¹⁶

Salomon's request was refused in May 866 and Festinian was ordered to obey Tours' authority until proof could be provided that his predecessors had indeed been granted the *pallium*.¹⁷ Soon after, Salomon appears to have dismissed some of the uncanonically elected bishops.¹⁸ In July, Ratuili of Alet is recorded in Salomon's retinue for the first time and a new bishop of Rennes (which by now formed part of the province of Brittany) was appointed and consecrated at Tours, perhaps indicating that, for the time being, Salomon accepted Tours' authority.¹⁹ As Smith points out, however, Dol's claims continued to be echoed in hagiography and its bishops continued to use the title, 'archbishop of Dol' into the early tenth century, perhaps merely as an honorific, in parallel with similar usage in tenth-century Wales.²⁰

The events of 865/66 have been pieced together largely from surviving letters between the main protagonists, and to a lesser extent from the *Vita Secunda Samsonis* (VSS), written at Dol partly to confer metropolitan status retrospectively on its founding bishop.²¹ Yet the VSS makes only a single explicit reference to Dol's metropolitan ambitions, when Childebert confers the title on Samson, along with authority over the Breton churches.²² Much of the remainder of Dol's claims to supremacy are implicit. Richard Sowerby has identified a clear pattern in the VSS, whereby Samson is consistently depicted as superior to and more powerful than his fellow saints and hence implicitly worthy of the rank of archbishop.²³ It is unclear whether the VSS was written in anticipation of a request for the pallium, or in reaction to the pope's refusal to send it.²⁴ Sowerby argues that the VSS may represent an early stage of Dol's ambitions, before Salomon requested the *pallium* in 865. This idea is supported by the implications of the later *Vita Maglorii*, which seems to react to potential criticism of Dol's ambitions by presenting them in ways broadly in keeping with Carolingian norms (see below). Dol may have reacted relatively quickly to criticism of its metropolitan claims and incorrect practices, producing the *Vita Maglorii* partly to demonstrate its conformity to Carolingian ecclesiastical standards, or, as Dol portrayed it, a return to the values the historical Samson and his successor had always espoused.

¹⁶ Smith, 'the archbishopric' of Dol, p. 66. This paragraph summarises work by Smith, *ibid.*, pp. 154-61 and Smith, 'the archbishopric' of Dol. See also Chédeville and Guillotel, *La Bretagne*, pp. 303-12.

¹⁷ *Patrologia Latina* 119, col. 0925D-0926C, Letter LXXXV 'Ad Salomonem Brittanorum regem et eius conjugem'.

¹⁸ *Chronique de Nantes*, pp. 54-5.

¹⁹ Quentin, 'Documents relatifs à l'élection et consécration', pp. 109-114; Smith, *Province and Empire*, pp. 158-9, note 48.

²⁰ Smith, 'The "archbishopric" of Dol', p. 67; Dorothy Whitelock, ed. *English Historical Documents, c. 500-1042* (London, 1955), no. 228, pp. 821-2.

²¹ Sowerby, 'The Lives of St Samson', pp. 1-32; Plaine, '*Vita antiqua*', pp. 77-150.

²² Plaine, '*Vita antiqua*', II, ch. 24, p. 147.

²³ Sowerby, 'The Lives of St Samson', pp. 1-31.

²⁴ *Ibid.* p. 12.

The evidence of Bili's *Vita Machutis*

Earlier than or perhaps contemporary with the *Vita Maglorii* is Bili's *Vita Machutis*. This may give an insight into reactions to the pope's decision among Salomon's retinue, to which Bili's dedicatee Ratuili belonged. Discussion of Bili's work has so far been focused on Machutus' consecration scene. Bili located this at the cathedral of Tours, indicating that Alet, at least c. 870, opposed Dol's ambitions.²⁵ Machutus, uniquely among the Breton saints, is elected bishop directly by the Breton 'king' Judicaël and consecrated on his orders. This might well reflect Ratuili's election by Salomon. The letter to the pope from the Council of Soissons reveals that Salomon appointed some (unnamed) Breton bishops in 865/6 when he deposed their predecessors.²⁶ Machutus' election by Judicaël might just be further evidence that Ratuili himself was appointed by the ruler.

The sub-text to Bili's Vita Machutis

The consecration scene is described quite openly, in the main text rather than the sub-text and so can hardly have been controversial at Salomon's court. Some of Ratuili and Bili's loyalties however may have been expressed in sub-texts, suggesting perhaps that not all Ratuili's views were welcome at Salomon's court. Bili's sub-texts are less clear-cut than those of the VPM and their political meaning more open to interpretation. Bili does not often quote verbatim and at length from earlier sources, at least not in the shorter redaction of his work preserved in London, BL, Royal A. x, and where he does this he does so for political reasons. The first sub-text is formed of verbatim quotations from Venantius Fortunatus' *Vita Paterni*.²⁷ These passages appear shortly after Machutus' arrival in Brittany and shortly before his consecration, although, since one is a description of Machutus' virtues, and the others fairly unremarkable miracles, there is no obvious narrative reason why they should appear where they do.²⁸ Their location is better explained by their sub-text. First, it serves to tie Machutus' association with Paternus directly to his arrival at Alet and to his consecration. From his arrival at Alet, the sub-text suggests, Machutus becomes a member of the Breton or Frankish clergy. Although Paternus was certainly continental by birth, he seems to have been regarded at this period as a model Breton saint and perhaps as one whose see still owed loyalty to a Frankish metropolitan, albeit Rouen, not Tours.²⁹ Prior to Machutus' arrival in Alet, the narrative is set in Insular Britain. In

²⁵ 'La *Vita Machutis* par Bili', ch. 40, p. 378; Smith, *Province and Empire*, p. 159, note 48.

²⁶ *Chronique de Nantes*, pp. 54-5.

²⁷ Venantius Fortunatus, *Vita Paterni ep. Abricensis*, ed. Krusch Bruno, MGH *Auct. Ant.* 4, 2 (Berlin, 1885), pp. 33-7.

²⁸ These passages are marked by Lot in his edition: 'La *Vita Machutis* par Bili', *Prologue* 1, p. 340, *Prologue* 2, p. 351, ch. 1, p. 353, ch. 32-3, pp. 373-5 and ch. 36, pp. 376-7.

²⁹ Brett, 'The hare and the tortoise'. For Charles' decision to retain control of the bishopric of Coutances and possibly that of Avranches, too, see: *Annals of St Bertin* entry for 867, p. 140. For Avranches' links to Rouen, see: Michel Fixot, 'Avranches', in Nancy Gauthier and Michel Fixot, *Province Ecclésiastique de Rouen (Lugdunensis Secunda)*: Nancy Gauthier, ed. *Topographies Chrétiennes des cités de la Gaule des origines au milieu du VIIIe siècle IX* (Paris, 1996), pp. 49-55.

this section, Machutus is pupil and companion to St Brendan and the narrative is therefore modelled appropriately on the Irish and so distinctly Insular *Navigatio sancti Brendani*.³⁰ Implicitly, Machutus at this point is an Insular (but not a British) saint.

Ratuili's and Bili's loyalties to contemporary papal Rome, however, may be expressed via a far more timid sub-text, perhaps indicating that they were more contentious than Machutus' consecration at Tours. After Machutus' consecration, Bili endows him with a series of virtues taken more or less verbatim from the *Actus sancti Silvestri*.³¹ Silvester was feted (anachronistically) in his late antique hagiography as the bishop of Rome who baptised the Roman emperor Constantine. In the *Actus*, Silvester establishes the superiority of the bishop of Rome to all other bishops and clergy in the empire and indeed the superiority of Constantine over other rulers.³² Any hagiographer quoting knowingly from the *Actus* must surely have understood these associations.

The passage which Bili copies from the *Actus* is not overtly political; in fact, it is simply a list of virtues. By placing the quotation shortly after Machutus' consecration however Bili seems to have given the passage a political note, one that implied Machutus' and Alet's loyalty to the papacy and the contemporary protectors of Rome – the Carolingian kings. Although the subtlety of this sub-text makes it difficult to know how much to read into it, it is plausible that the reference to the late antique Silvester was a means of expressing loyalty to contemporary Rome and perhaps, too, of acknowledging the authority of the Carolingian defender of Rome Charles the Bald over Salomon, who directly elects Machutus.

Nowhere else in their texts do Bili or his successors even hint that their subject might be loyal to the 'Roman', Carolingian rulers. Although the Frankish king, 'Philibert' appears in Book II to give his blessing to the translation of Machutus' relics from Saintes, he is acting within his own jurisdiction, in Aquitaine, not in Brittany. Moreover, nowhere does Bili state that Machutus himself might have acknowledged him as Emperor. Indeed, just like Judicaël in Book I, he is given the title, 'rex'.³³

³⁰ For the most recent edition, see: Giovanni Orlandi and Rossana E. Guglielmetti, eds. *Navigatio Sancti Brendani: alla scoperta dei degreti meravigliosi del mondo* (Florence, 2014); 'La Vita Machutis par Bili', ch. 2, 354 and ch. 6-25, pp. 359-68.

³¹ 'La Vita Machutis par Bili', ch. 39, p. 378. The borrowing is identified by Kerlouégan, 'Citations d'auteurs latins chrétiens', p. 226 and note 37. Kerlouégan states that Bili borrows from the *Life* of Germanus of Grandvilliers, rather than from the *Actus Sylvestri*. Dolbeau however argued that Bili borrowed directly from a largely unpublished version of the *Actus Sylvestri*: See François Dolbeau's review of Guénaël Le Duc's edition of Bili's *Vita Machutis*, *Analecta Bollandiana* 101, (1983), pp. 194-6.

³² For presentations of Sylvester in the various late antique hagiographical works dedicated to him and especially the use of these texts to support the claims of the see of Rome, see: Kristina Sessa, 'Constantine and Silvester in the *Actus Sylvestri*', in M. Shane Bjornlie, ed. *The Life and Legacy of Constantine: Traditions through the ages* (Abingdon, 2016), pp. 77-91 and Judson Emerick, 'Charlemagne: a New Constantine?' in Bjornlie, *Life and Legacy of Constantine*, pp. 133-61.

³³ 'La Vita Machutis par Bili', Bk II, ch. 7-9, pp. 415-8.

Bili's quotation from the *Actus Silvestri* may have been motivated by a fear of outlining loyalty to the Carolingian rulers too boldly. Almost certainly, few people other than Ratuili, Bili and perhaps a few clergy would have been able to recognise this apparently anodyne quotation from the *Actus Sylvestri* and still less grasp its potential political meaning. Unlike Machutus' consecration at Tours after his election by Judicaël, the sub-text was apparently not written, if indeed it was written at all, for Salomon's comprehension. Although of course many other interpretations may be possible, Bili was perhaps attempting to hint at loyalty to Rome within a small, sympathetic and learned circle around Ratuili of Alet without seeming to reprove Salomon for his less than perfect submission to the pope and Roman Emperor. Perhaps Salomon's relationships with both were rather more tense than his relationship with the clergy of Tours.

The timidity with which Bili seems to express his loyalty to Rome is surprising. It is surprising first of all first because one would not expect an expression of loyalty to the papacy to be controversial. In fact, by 871 Salomon was making serious attempts to repair his relations with the papacy. That year, he sent a number of gifts to the Pope, along with a letter in which he apologised for being unable to visit him in person. This muted expression of loyalty to Rome is surprising too because Salomon seems to have remained loyal to Charles the Bald, especially after 866/7, recognising Charles as his lord and accepting the status of *fidelis*.³⁴ Quite possibly, Bili wrote his sub-text before Salomon's attempt to repair relations with the papacy more thoroughly. Indeed, it is not impossible that Bili's work reflects the process of Salomon, perhaps partly under Ratuili's influence, reconsidering his relationship with the pope and Rome before 871.

The *Vita Maglorii* and the 'archbishopric' of Dol

The next surviving window into Dol's machinations is the *Vita Maglorii*, perhaps roughly contemporary with Bili's work. It is unclear whether the ambitions visible in this reflect those of Salomon, or whether Salomon had by this point abandoned his attempt to create an archbishopric at Dol. The *Vita Maglorii* does, however, make it clear that the clergy of Dol did not abandon their metropolitan ambitions quite so early as 866.

The *Vita Maglorii*'s first seven chapters take their narrative essentially from Samson's hagiography, albeit greatly condensing and paraphrasing it. It is worth pausing a moment to ask why this might be. There are parallel examples of this form of borrowing, whereby a hagiographer links his or her subject with another saint in the early stages of a saint's *Life*. One motive may have been to create a

³⁴ For Salomon's loyalty to Charles after 867, see Smith, *Province and Empire*, pp. 106-8. For his attempt to establish friendly relations with the Papacy, see: Smith, 'archbishopric of Dol', pp. 66-7. For Salomon's letter to Pope Hadrian, see: Cartulary of Redon, ch. 89, p. 67.

link between cults, either where a more dominant cult laid intellectual or political claim to another, or where a younger or less well-known cult sought to bolster its reputation by means of a link to a more established one.³⁵ Richard Sowerby observes this in Samson's own hagiography. In the seventh century, the VPS' author sought to bolster Samson's reputation by depicting other saints confirming his sanctity. By the ninth, it seems Samson's hagiographer was confident enough of his subject's reputation to show Samson dominating other saints, rather than relying on them for validation of his cult.³⁶ On a less formal level, meetings between saints, or the education of one saint by another, might implicitly explain intellectual influences of one foundation on another. The frequent references to Columbanus in a range of saints' *Lives* are a good example of this.³⁷ On the most basic level, perhaps, a narrative from another hagiography might help to fill lacunae in the historical record.³⁸ Such wholesale borrowings might also be used as an opportunity indirectly to rewrite a foundation's claims for its own political ends, via the means of another cult. In this, case, Maglorius' *Vita* is used as a means of updating and validating Dol's metropolitan claims.

Dol's continued ambitions are reflected in the *Vita Maglorii*, which re-writes Samson's career not only to emphasise his pastoral work, but to confer greater legitimacy on Samson's rank as archbishop. The *Vita Maglorii* expands on claims made in the VSS in a number of ways. The *Vita Maglorii* focuses only on those parts of Samson's hagiography that enhance Dol's claims to metropolitan status, indicating that support for Dol was a key motive for its author's decision to borrow from Samson's hagiography, and indeed for the *Vita Maglorii*'s composition, quite possibly at Dol itself.

Firstly, the VSS slightly changes the terminology of the VPS. The title 'archbishop' itself is employed far more in the *Vita Maglorii* than it is in Samson's hagiography. The VSS contains remarkably little direct reference to Dol's metropolitan ambitions. The title 'archbishop' is used only once in the entire, fairly lengthy work, when Childebert grants the title to Samson in chapter 24: '*S. Sanson de manu Hilberti imperatoris et uerbo et commendatione archiepiscopatum totius Britanniae recipiens*'.³⁹ The early chapters of the *Vita Maglorii* in contrast use the title 'archbishop' repeatedly and almost interchangeably with the title 'bishop', especially for Samson. This may simply suggest that the title

³⁵ Goulet takes the example of the *Life* of St Madalberte, whose author borrowed heavily from the *Lives* of saints Aldegonde and Aldetrude: Goulet, *Écriture et Réécriture*, pp. 215-6. Paul Bertrand, 'La vie de sainte Madelberte de Maubeuge: Edition du texte (BHL 5129) et traduction française', *Analecta Bollandiana* 115 (1997), pp. 39-76. The parallel with Maglorius' *Life* is particularly apt here. Both saints' relics had recently been translated at the times their *Lives* were written, both *Lives* created a family relationship to link their subjects to the older saints from whose hagiographies they borrowed and both *Lives* contain traces of oral legend suggesting a pre-existing cult.

³⁶ Sowerby, 'The Lives of St Samson', pp. 4-5.

³⁷ Jean-Michel Picard, 'Entre Bretagne et Normandie, le culte des saints irlandais', in Quagehebeur and Merdrignac, *Bretons et Normands*, pp. 51-64. Picard interprets these associations as evidence the foundations involved may have had some Columbanian influence in their rules.

³⁸ Bertrand, 'La Vie de sainte Madalberte', pp. 36-76; François Dolbeau 'Les hagiographes au travail', in M. Heinzelmann, ed. *Manuscrits hagiographiques et travail des hagiographes*, (Sigmaringen, 1992), pp. 49-76.

³⁹ Plaine, '*Vita antiqua*', II, ch. 24, p. 147 (St Samson received from the hand of Childebert, both by word and commendation, the authority of archbishop of the whole of Brittany).

‘archbishop of Dol’ had gained broader acceptance when the early chapters of the *Vita Maglorii* were drafted than when the VSS was first written. Yet it may also indicate enthusiasm for Dol’s claims on the part of the *Vita Maglorii* author or his source text.

Secondly, the account of Samson’s *Life* in the *Vita Maglorii* is greatly condensed, to take up three chapters of the *Vita Maglorii* rather than the two substantial books of the VSS. Maglorius’ *Vita* retains only the details of Samson’s education at Illtud’s school and the milestones of his career (his ordination and journey to Brittany, his promotion by Childebert and eventually his death). Presumably, the technical outlines of Samson’s and Maglorius’ careers interested the hagiographer at this point more than other evidence of their sanctity. The sanctity, virtue and miracle-working power of his subjects were presumably not in doubt. The validity of their status as archbishops in contrast was disputed. A closer examination of the way the hagiographer presents both saints’ careers will show that he produced the *Vita Maglorii* partly in order to justify the metropolitan claims of Samson and Maglorius.

The most substantial alteration is the way Maglorius’ hagiographer makes the process of Samson’s election in Insular Britain more canonical than it is in Samson’s own hagiography. In the *Vita Prima* (VPS) and VSS, Samson is ordained on earth after receiving a vision in which he is ordained by three apostles in heaven, and after bishop Dubricius himself experiences a vision instructing him to ordain Samson bishop.⁴⁰ Samson is duly ordained at the impending synod. Sowerby argues that this episode is designed to show that Samson’s authority is God-given, but notes that the ordination process it depicts is actually very unorthodox.⁴¹ In the *Vita Maglorii*, the visionary aspect of this process has been omitted. Instead, Samson is elected only by a council of bishops (*episcoporum comitatu*).⁴² The omission may simply reflect the heavily paraphrased nature of the episode. Yet it may be significant that the only element of Samson’s ordination retained is the canonical part, the part most likely to satisfy the requirements of a Frankish church hierarchy exasperated by the Breton bishops’ allegedly unorthodox practices.⁴³ This correct element of Samson’s ordination is emphasised further. The hagiographer states that the election was made ‘*iuxta sanctorum patrum institutionem*’ (according to the statutes of the holy fathers).⁴⁴ This is a minor addition to the account in the VPS and VSS but shows that the canonical nature of Samson’s ordination was indeed important to the hagiographer and for his message.

⁴⁰ Plaine, ‘*Vita antiqua*’, I, ch. 14, pp. 105-6.

⁴¹ Sowerby, ‘The Lives of St Samson’, pp. 26-7.

⁴² *Vita Maglorii*, ch. 1, line 85-6: ‘*Eligitur atque [coadunato]⁴² episcoporum comitatu, iuxta sanctorum patrum institutionem, in archipraesulatus solium sublimis licet inuitus attollitur*’ (it was permitted by a collected gathering of bishops, that, reluctant, he was raised to the sublime archbishop’s throne).

⁴³ *Chronique de Nantes*, pp. 51-7.

⁴⁴ *Vita Maglorii*, ch. 1, line 85.

This alteration to make the process of ordination more canonical did not just support Dol's legitimacy as bishopric, but also strengthened the legitimacy of Dol as an archbishopric. In the VSS, Dubricius ordains Samson only as bishop in Insular Britain; Samson must wait until his journey to Frankia to be promoted to the rank of archbishop by Childebert.⁴⁵ This may have been a significant problem for Dol. It meant that the only evidence the VSS provided that Festinian might be entitled to the *pallium* was Childebert's decision to promote Samson, a 'decision' for which there was almost certainly no evidence outside the VSS. Perhaps even more damaging, the appointment by Childebert is at odds with the idea that bishops should be appointed by a panel of fellow bishops rather than solely on the whim of a monarch. A series of similarly uncanonical appointments by Nominoë was, after all, the very problem that Salomon and perhaps Festinian had been trying to solve.

The *Vita Maglorii's* account of Samson's promotion in Insular Britain further circumvents some of the problems presented by his elevation in the VSS, first to the rank of bishop, then to the rank of archbishop. It pushes Samson's ordination as metropolitan back to sixth-century Wales. In the ninth century, there was of course no Welsh archbishopric and almost certainly never had been, although there is evidence that the title 'archbishop' was used as an honorific in Wales just as it was at Dol.⁴⁶ It is unclear whether Samson's or Maglorius' hagiographers were aware of this and attempted to exploit it, or indeed which region adopted the title first.

More importantly, perhaps, Samson's election as archbishop in Britain ensures that when Childebert makes Samson archbishop of Brittany, the king is no longer responsible for Samson's promotion to the rank of metropolitan. Samson's ordination as archbishop has already been accomplished in the correct manner. The king is only responsible for providing him with a new, Breton province to replace his former, Insular one. Childebert's donation of Brittany to Samson as his archbishopric is also slightly altered to emphasise the precise extent of Dol's authority. In the VSS, Childebert gives Samson authority over *totius Britanniae* (the whole of Brittany).⁴⁷ In the *Vita Maglorii*, Childebert grants Samson, '*archipraesulatus regimine, non solum inibi uerum etiam in omnem Britannorum regionem*', emphasising the claim that Samson's authority extends beyond Dol to the other Breton churches.⁴⁸

The way that this account of Samson's career circumvents possible – and predictable – objections to Samson's status seems too consistent to be mere coincidence. The account of Samson's ordination in Insular Britain and the allocation of the province of Brittany by Childebert can be read as a response

⁴⁵ *Vita Maglorii*, ch. 1, line 86; Plaine, '*Vita antiqua*', I, 14, pp. 105-6 and II, ch. 24, p. 147.

⁴⁶ Smith, 'The archbishopric of Dol', p. 67.

⁴⁷ Plaine, '*Vita antiqua*', Bk II, ch. 24, p. 147.

⁴⁸ *Vita Maglorii*, ch. 3a, line 99 (the rule of an archbishop, not only there [i.e. Dol] but truly even over the whole region of the Bretons).

to possible objections to the account in the VSS. It can be read as an attempt by Dol or on Dol's behalf to conform retrospectively to the correct process of ordination, both for bishops and archbishops. This reflects an attempt to improve the see's credibility, to meet papal and Carolingian standards and to make amends perhaps for the uncanonical practices of the past. This indicates that Dol continued to make serious attempts to defend its status as metropolitan even after the pope's refusal to provide Festinian with the *pallium* in 865. It also indicates willingness to engage with the church hierarchy on its own terms, to fully understand and comply with objections to its pretended status and to stake a more orthodox claim to Dol's status. It was this willingness too that probably led to the emphasis on pastoral care and on the separation of pastoral and monastic roles in the *Vita Maglorii*.

This is clearly not a careless or inconsequential borrowing by a hagiographer short of material for his subject's early life. When Maglorius' hagiographer borrowed from Samson's hagiography, he made a conscious decision to echo, almost exclusively, material that supported Dol's metropolitan ambitions. He did not just do so passively. Instead, he altered his material to further Dol's claims and to make Samson's election far more valid, by Carolingian standards, than it had been in either the VPS or VSS. In either case, the *Vita* is firm evidence of Dol's continued ambitions and at the same time of its integration into the culture and norms of the Carolingian church. It also demonstrates that a hagiographer's decision to borrow from an earlier hagiography could be highly politically motivated, also providing an opportunity to rewrite and not just passively echo a source text.

Breton separatism after Salomon's death

Breton separatism seems to have undergone a resurgence in the years after Salomon's death in 874. A letter from Pope John VIII of 878 threatens the Breton churches with excommunication for their failure to attend synods at Tours.⁴⁹ Although it makes no reference to Dol's metropolitan claims, it is telling that the letter is addressed to Mahen, bishop of Dol, perhaps in recognition of Dol's claims to supremacy over the other Breton churches. Independence from Tours' authority is expressed also in the anonymous *Vitae Machutis*, though more indirectly than in Samson's hagiography. The AVM relocate Machutus' consecration from Tours to Insular Britain, implicitly moving their subject from a Frankish to a British church hierarchy.⁵⁰ They also remove the section, paraphrased from the VSS, in which Machutus visits Judicaël's court, replacing his election by Judicaël in Bili's work with election by Aaraon, a monk of Saint-Malo.⁵¹ This probably reflects a desire to remove their subject from secular control and influence, in keeping with their commitment to ecclesiastical reform. The AVM

⁴⁹ MGH Epp. 7, pp. 87-8.

⁵⁰ 'La plus ancienne vie de saint Malo', ch. 8, pp. 304-5.

⁵¹ Ibid. ch. 15. ii, p. 313.

insert approving references to both Samson and Maglorius although they never explicitly give Samson or Maglorius the title ‘archbishop’. Probably following the *Vita Maglorii*, they place Samson in Brittany in advance of Machutus and Maglorius, implicitly according him a role senior to theirs.⁵²

Coincidentally or not, the process of rewriting Machutus’ election and consecration also involved removing the quotations from the *Vita Paterni*, which in Bili’s *Life* appear between Machutus’ arrival in Brittany and his consecration, and the list of virtues copied from the *Actus Silvestri*. The quotation from the *Actus Silvestri* probably fell victim to the removal of the consecration scene, although it is not impossible that the anonymous hagiographers recognised the significance of the admittedly doubtful sub-text it implied in Bili’s work and removed it as a result. If so, it is likely they objected to the implied links to Tours and to secular rule but not presumably to the influence of the papacy itself. It may be more significant that the AVM remove the verbatim quotations from the *Vita Paterni* from the main body of the text and retain only faint traces of the verbatim quotation in the *Prologue*. These quotations are unrelated to Machutus’ election, consecration or his time at Judicaël’s court. It is plausible therefore that, like much of the interpolated section found in O, these verbatim quotations were deliberately removed when the AVM were written, perhaps to remove the implicit association they may draw between Machutus and a Frankish church hierarchy.

The AVM’s support for independence from Tours may have resulted from a number of factors. At a local level, the monks of Saint-Malo may have seen Alet’s rival Dol as a protector from the bishops of Alet who in Bili’s work seem to claim authority over their diocese’s monasteries as well as its pastoral centres.⁵³ This alone might have given them reason to support the authority of the bishops of Dol over those of Alet. Support for separation might also reflect the influence of the *Vita Maglorii* on the AVM, although this may not have been a major influence, not least as its emphasis on both Dol’s authority and on pastoral care are much toned down in the AVM. Finally, the AVM may reflect the continued Breton separatism of which Pope John VIII’s letter of 878 complained. If so they may reflect a movement in favour of separation across various Breton foundations.

It is unclear whether such separatism continued for long. If it did, Alet seems not to have supported it. All three interpolated versions of Bili’s work retain the consecration scene at Tours.⁵⁴ Wrmonoc’s position meanwhile seems deliberately ambivalent. The count of Paul’s future diocese sends Paul to king Childebert in Paris to trick him into being consecrated bishop there. The ceremony is performed by three unidentified bishops. This literary move places Paul in a largely Frankish hierarchy while

⁵² Ibid ch. 15, p. 313.

⁵³ Ibid. ch. 34, p. 375.

⁵⁴ Bili, *Vita Machutis*, in Hereford Cathedral Library, P. 7. Vi, ff. 58r-65v.

avoiding the question of his patron's loyalty to Tours.⁵⁵ After Wrmonoc's *Vita Pauli Aureliani* of 884, nothing more survives to illuminate the question of the Breton bishoprics' loyalty to Tours for the remainder of the ninth century.

Conclusion

These texts demonstrate that Dol did not, as was once thought, abandon its metropolitan ambitions after 866. On the contrary, they show that Dol produced new hagiographical 'evidence' for the legitimacy of Samson's status as archbishop, comprehensively rewriting his career as outlined in the VSS in order to do so. The *Vita Maglorii* shows Samson to be worthy of his rank via reformed ideals of bishops' engagement in pastoral care and through canonical means of appointment and consecration. Acceptance of *correctio* and Carolingian norms are therefore used to bolster Dol's legitimacy as an archbishopric. Although these texts reveal marked integration into the culture of the Carolingian church by the end of the tenth century, this did not always go hand-in-hand with political submission.

⁵⁵ Plaine, *Vita Pauli*, ch. 61, p. 251.

Conclusion

When I began this study in 2014, it was intended as an exploration of three hagiographical collections and the information they could provide about the medieval context in which they were written. It soon became clear that new technology offered unprecedented opportunity to uncover hagiographers' sources, a development Poulin predicted in 2008 but of which there has been relatively little sign, at least in the study of Breton hagiography.¹ Simply listing new sources is not an interesting exercise in itself, although these are one means of tracing political and cultural influences on a text or collection of texts, or of revealing the routes by which manuscripts and cultural influences spread between regions or communities. This potential has already been explored in detail for Brittany. François Kerlouégan among others has already discussed the distribution of quotations from Christian and pagan authors in the Breton hagiographical corpus.² Both Julia Smith and Joseph-Claude Poulin have highlighted the extensive Frankish influence in the Breton corpus.³ I have not aimed to change their conclusions substantially. Instead, in Part I, I have used newly uncovered sources to identify dates of writing and layers of authorship for some collections. In Part II, I have analysed hagiographers' sub-texts. The arguments in each of these chapters cannot be separated from this intertextual approach.

Part I does little to alter existing datings of Machutus', Maglorius' and Melanius' *dossiers* but it does provide new evidence to support existing conclusions. For Melanius' *dossier*, it provides a different approach to the dating, based on discussion of the sources for the *Vita Prima* instead of the erroneous manuscript dating of the *Vita Interpolata* 1. In doing so, it broadly confirms earlier ninth-century datings. For Maglorius' *dossier* it uses the *Vita*'s support for Dol to suggest that Family 1 was probably written shortly after 866 and Family 2 in the following decades.

The discovery of new sources has aided a great deal in identifying stages of composition and changes of authorship that had hitherto been concealed in Bili's *Vita Machutis* and in Maglorius' *dossier*. These layers of composition and authorship were obscured by their scribes or authors, who saw no reason to distinguish between anonymous authors or interpolators. The spiritual or political perspectives these authors wrote to convey were far more important to them and their audiences than their individual identities. To twenty-first century historians, however, uncovering new layers of composition can provide a valuable aid to understanding the changing needs of a foundation and the changing influences to which it was subject. Part I therefore identified layers of writing as well as the dates at which they may have occurred.

¹ Poulin, *L'hagiographie bretonne*, p. 53.

² Kerlouégan, 'Citations d'auteurs latins chrétiens' and Kerlouégan, 'Les citations d'auteurs latins profanes'.

³ Smith, *Province and Empire*, pp. 147-86; Poulin, *L'hagiographie bretonne*, pp. 53-9.

The ease with which new sources can be discovered contributed a great deal to uncovering new layers of authorship in some of the sources examined in Part I, and indeed has provided new evidence to confirm older suspicions. The discovery of new sources in Bili's *Vita Machutis* supported du Chesne's suggestion, largely neglected since the nineteenth century, that a series of chapters had been interpolated into the Oxford copy of Bili's *Vita Machutis*.⁴ This discovery reveals that new influences appeared at Alet in the years after Bili wrote, in the shape of a number of hagiographies from Neustria. The cult's needs may also have changed subtly as the cult sought increasingly to promote Machutus' relic shrine via the saint's miracles.

The discovery of new sources contributed too to demonstrating how Maglorius' hagiographical *dossier* was probably constructed, with each of its five parts resulting from two families of writing, probably representing the work of two authors. These two families reveal different political as well as literary influences, while a more detailed study of their vocabulary suggested differences in the authors' preferred terms and writing styles. The second of these families, but not the first, had a complex and sensitive style, one that employed multiple, brief sub-texts or at least well-chosen quotations, in some of its chapters. It reveals, too, a wide knowledge of classical Latin literature, both classical and pagan, which is absent from Family 1.

Part II

The three collections used in this study provide perspectives from two opposing viewpoints, one from Brittany and two from the march. Marcher foundations at Noirmoutier and in the Cotentin marked their involvement with the borders of the Empire and its defence against Vikings, Saracens, Saxons and Bretons in their hagiographies.⁵ In texts written at these foundations some distance from the march, condemnation of the Bretons either does not appear at all or appears only rarely, as in the *Vita* and *Miracula Philiberti*.⁶ This suggests that the dramatic assertion of Frankish identity in the *Vitae Melanii* largely reflects Rennes' location in the frontline of Breton aggression. The permanent presence of the Bretons west of the Vilaine, intermittent Breton raids and Carolingian attempts to dominate the region combined to make the Breton presence an intense psychological preoccupation for the clergy of Rennes. Yet the creation of the VPM was also an attempt to align the see with Frankish, possibly royal interests and so to prove its clergy's loyalty to Frankia. Although chiefly a work of religious devotion and instruction, it also reflects an individual or community expressing their own ambitions and defending their own interests using a broader, more universal rhetoric.

⁴ Du Chesne, 'Etude sur les anciennes Vies de saint Malo'; 'La *Vita Machutis* par Bili', Bk I, ch. 51-75, pp. 384-400.

⁵ *Vita Marculphi*, pp. 71-7 and *Alia Vita*, pp. 77-81; *Vita Philiberti* and *Miracula Philiberti*. Harding, *Community, Cult and Politics*, pp. 271-2.

⁶ *Vita Philiberti*, ch. 28, p. 17 and *Miracula Philiberti*, Bk I, ch. 81, pp. 54-6.

Hagiographies were not intended to present a modern, positive historical narrative. They are often best approached as reflections of the political, cultural and intellectual currents in which they were created. The *Vita Prima Melanii*'s display of Carolingian loyalty and the extreme dichotomy it presents between Franks and Bretons, proper and improper Christians was always intended to convey a spiritual and political ideal; it was never intended to reflect accurately any material reality, past or present. In reality, day to day interaction did not always reflect the dramatically entrenched divisions expressed in Carolingian rhetoric. Peaceful contact certainly took place between Neustria and Brittany, evidenced by the exchange of gifts, ideals and texts between Breton and Neustrian clergy.⁷ Contact also included the laity, as evidenced in the *Vita Interpolata* 1 by an anonymous Breton woman's gifts to Melanius.⁸

The *Vita Prima Melanii* was a means of articulating Frankish ambitions to 'convert' the Bretons. To see how successful this was, it is necessary to turn to the more plentiful evidence from Brittany itself. Breton hagiographies, charters and manuscripts have long been used to show that Carolingian attempts to 'convert' the Bretons did have a material impact in Brittany.⁹ Change seems to have been gradual, occurring throughout the ninth century and into the tenth.¹⁰ The lack of documentation from Brittany from before this date makes it difficult to say whether 866 also marked a watershed for instances of reform. Evidence from Landévennec and the existence of Caroline Breton script from the middle of the century however suggests that monasteries may have adopted many aspects of *correctio* before c. 866.¹¹

Episcopal churches may have been later to reform.¹² The specific example of pastoral care shows that bishops Samson and Machutus were idealised as pilgrims and hermits in the mid and late 860s. Fortunately, the number of Breton hagiographies and the frequency with which they were rewritten in the final decades of the ninth century make it possible to trace developments in the ideal of pastoral care over time. They show a marked increase in interest in the theme of pastoral care, one that predictably reflects Brittany's assimilation of Carolingian ecclesiastical standards over the later decades of the ninth century. The appearance of these changes only after 866 suggests that they resulted, perhaps indirectly, from Dol's ambitions and its attempts to fulfil them by adopting some of the standards of the Carolingian churches.

⁷ Smith, *Province and Empire*, pp. 162-5.

⁸ *Vita Interpolata* 1, ch. 7.

⁹ Deuffic, 'Le "monachisme breton" continental'; Hamon: *Vies de saints bretons et règles monastiques*; Merdrignac, 'La vie quotidienne'; Dumville, 'Writers, Scribes and Readers in Brittany'.

¹⁰ Smith, *Province and Empire*, pp. 147-86.

¹¹ Dumville, 'Writers, Scribes and Readers'; Deuffic 'La production manuscrite'; *Vita Winwaloei*, Bk, II, ch. 14, pp. 227.

¹² Smith, *Province and Empire*, pp. 178-80.

From the composition of the *Vita Maglorii*, Breton hagiographers began to embrace *correctio*, even appearing to accept the label the Frankish churches had given them, as ‘barely Christian’.¹³ This pejorative description echoes condemnations by Einhard, Ermold and the Council of Savonnières so closely that it must almost certainly have been taken from Frankish sources.¹⁴ On the surface, this would appear to be a display of humility and acceptance of the Frankish narrative that the Bretons were in need of conversion from Frankia. Yet this was not the case at all.

In fact, the Breton churches’ own political needs seem to have played a dominant role in their acceptance of *correctio*. When Saint-Malo, Dol and Saint-Pol embraced the Carolingian ideal of a bishop as pastoral leader, responsible for the conversion and correct behaviour of his flock, they were not only accepting the tenets of reform, they also intended this pastoral role to convey a political message. In each of their hagiographical collections, these foundations depicted the Breton people of the Rance, Dol and Saint-Pol being converted to ‘correct’ Christianity by a British saint. Salvation for the Bretons and saintly authority in these works came from Insular Britain, not from Tours, Frankia or the Carolingian world. Implicitly, these texts reject the notion that the Bretons were in need of correction or conversion from Frankia. In doing so, they subvert the Carolingian narrative of correction and conversion by the Carolingian dynasty and its supporters. In their version of events, Brittany had been converted to correct Christian practice in the sixth century by British saints. Implicitly therefore, they had no need to be converted by the churches of Carolingian Frankia.

This subversion of Frankish narratives of Breton conversion reflected the political imperatives of a Breton movement towards separatism from Tours and the Frankish church hierarchy. The *Vita Maglorii*, anonymous *vitae Machutis* and *Vita Pauli Aureliani* followed the VSS in rejecting the authority of the Bretons churches’ metropolitan at Tours. The anonymous *vitae Machutis* make Samson senior to Maglorius and Machutus by placing his activity in Brittany rather earlier than theirs.¹⁵ The *Vita Maglorii* goes even further, presenting Samson as archbishop.¹⁶ Again, it is impossible to say how far ideals presented in hagiography reflected real world developments, with little evidence beyond a complaint by Pope John VIII in the 870s that the Breton bishoprics had still not submitted to Tours.¹⁷ It is equally difficult to know whether the renewed emphasis on pastoral care translated, or was even intended to translate, into material change in bishops’ actual behaviour. It is only possible to study how their roles were idealised.

¹³ ‘La plus ancienne vie de saint Malo’, ch. 15, p. 313; Plaine, *Vita Pauli*, Bk II, ch. 19(57), p. 249.

¹⁴ Ermoldus Nigellus, *Carmen in honorem Hludowici*, Bk III, p. 42, vs. 43; *Chronique de Nantes*, pp. 51-7.

¹⁵ ‘La plus ancienne vie de saint Malo’, ch. 15. ii.

¹⁶ *Vita Maglorii*, ch. 2, line 97; ch. 6, line 211; *Miracula Maglorii*, ch. 4, line 107.

¹⁷ MGH Epp. 7, ep. 92, pp. 87-8.

Although this collection reflects the ideals to which bishops were held, it reveals less of the ideals to which ordinary priests and monks might be held and still less of how these lower ranking clergy interacted with the populace in practice. To understand how pastoral care may actually have been organised, it is necessary to turn to other sources, to the penitentials and charters of Redon, which provide little evidence of reform.¹⁸ This suggests that the emphasis on pastoral care in the Breton hagiographical corpus may have taken considerable time to translate into alterations in practice ‘on the ground’.

Here, I have emphasised the changing ideals to which bishops were held and the narratives that early Breton and marcher communities created for themselves. These ideals reveal their hagiographers’ exposure to wider narratives: *correctio* and Frankish ethnic consciousness on the march, both *correctio* and Dol’s ambitions in Brittany. Each of these hagiographical collections was written to serve a foundation and its community, giving each a highly local focus. This local focus however was overlaid to varying degrees with much broader preoccupations. This interest in broader, more universal narratives is most prominent in the *Vita Melanii*, written to align the see with ecclesiastical and political aspects of *correctio*. It is much less prominent in the Breton corpus. Here, evidence for preoccupations with *correctio* and with Dol’s ambitions are not immediately evident, except perhaps in the *Vita Maglorii*, but must instead be gleaned from a detailed analysis of small extracts of text.

Each of these texts highlights the difficulty of reaching conclusions about the material world from hagiography. Each borrows heavily from other texts, whether from a ‘hypotext’ in the form of an earlier hagiography of the subject, or from completely unrelated materials. It is this intertextual aspect of hagiography that has proved key to understanding and interpreting these works. Hagiographies, like other early medieval texts, intended to inscribe their subjects into much older intellectual or saintly traditions. These traditions gave the newly written works legitimacy they would not otherwise have had. They also profoundly affected the meaning of the new text, while quotations took on new significance in their new context. This intertextual aspect of early medieval writing has long been accepted, especially perhaps for liturgical texts and poetry.¹⁹ I hope I have demonstrated that such an approach may be particularly useful for understanding hagiography.

¹⁸ Smith, *Province and Empire*, pp. 177-83.

¹⁹ Hill, ‘Authority and Intertextuality in Ælfric’; Claussen, *The Reform of the Frankish Church*; Meyers, *L’art de l’emprunt*.

Appendix A: *Vita Prima Melanii*

Manuscript sources

This edition is based on a copy of the *Vita Prima Melanii* found in Karlsruhe, Landesbibliothek Aug. Perg. 84, ff.168r-169r. (K). The manuscript dates from the early or mid tenth century and contains the earliest surviving state of the text of the VPM. However, the manuscript is faded and occasionally illegible and it was necessary to fill the lacuna using other sources: Vatican, BAV, Vat. Lat. Reg. 485, ff. 54r.-63r. (V) and the modern edition based on a number of manuscripts by Elodie Bonnaire. Where it was possible to match the faded lettering of K to another text, I have chosen the text that best seems to match K. Where this is impossible, I have used V in the first instance, turning to Bonnaire's edition wherever V deviates from K. Where the author quotes from identified sources, and where their readings seem preferable to either V or to Bonnaire's edition, I have filled lacuna using copies of these sources. V, preserved in a tenth-century manuscript, is in fact a copy of the *Vita Interpolata* 1. However, it shared a common ancestor with K and often better reflects its text than the later copies of the *Vita Prima*.

Chapter divisions and numbers

The chapter numbers and divisions reflect those in the BHL edition. However, the BHL edition is only partial and in particular omits a lengthy section between chapter 4 and chapter 5. For ease of reference, and to avoid changing the chapter numbering, I have labelled those sections omitted from BHL but edited here as subsections of chapter 4: 4b, 4c, 4d, etc, with Chapter 4a comprising the material already edited in the BHL as chapter 4.

Punctuation and orthography

For the sake of comprehension, I have used standard Latin orthography, even where this does not appear in the manuscript. Similarly, I have used modern English punctuation that corresponds with that in the English translation.

Sources

Where the author's sources have been identified, these are indicated in the references, and the quoted words or phrases italicised.

Vita Prima Melanii

1 1. Incipit vita Sancti Melanii episcopi. Cum sociorum patrum priscorum ueneranda memoria in
2 omnipotentis dei laudem uenerabiliter est colenda et eorum honorabilis uita ad exemplum fidelium
3 fideliter est preferenda, quam *reus in diuinis uoluminibus ascribitur, qui non studuerit, "dare gratis,*
4 *quod ipse gratis accepit"*?¹ *Quicquid enim aecclesiae proficit et auditores imbuat eosque ad exemplum*
5 *prouocit bonum, non est silendum, sed potius praedicandum. Unde ait psalmista, "Justicia tuam non*
6 *abscondi in corde meo [ueritatem tuam et salutare tuum dixi]. Non abscondi [misericordiam tuam et*
7 *ueritatem tuam] a consilio multo".*²³

8 2. *Postquam ergo dominus noster Iesu Christe mundum sua passione redemit et apostolos suos*
9 *praedicare misit successoresque eorum ad predicandum elegit, quia ab aeterno sole illuminati, diuina*
10 *ad uiuante gratia, cecos ignorantiae tenebris uero fulgere Christi illuminarent et longum [diuini]⁴*
11 *uerbi esurium fatigati epulis aeternae vitae familiam redemptoris satiarent, de eorum numero sanctis*
12 *dei sacerdos Melanius Redonensis episcopus et praedicator egregius his in regionibus ob multorum*
13 *salutem, dominum ut praedicaret, exortus fit.*⁵ *Fuit igitur [predictus]⁶ episcopus nobilis genere sed*
14 *[nobilior fide]⁷, saeculi dignitate inter suos clarus, sed diuinorum munerem gratia precipuus. Huius*
15 *uirii infantia sacris quidem miraculorum presagus apparentibus [fulgebat]⁸, summus sacerdotibus*
16 *[etiam per diuinam]⁹ providentiam commisus, [sacris]¹⁰ litteris et diuinis [erudiebatur discipulis]¹¹.*
17 *Crescente uero aetate [gratia atque providentiae erga illum honorisque]¹² effectus quotidie*
18 *crescebat.*¹³

19 3. Erat enim de Uenetensi parochia ex progene oriundus ex nobilissimum parentibus in Placio
20 nutritus. *Fuit autem forma praecipuus, corpore castus, mente deuotus, affabilis colloquio, amabilis*
21 *aspectu. Prudentia egregius, temperantia clarus,¹⁴ zelo dei et amore feruidus, perpetuesque*
22 *uirginitatis, erat integerrimus custos. In scripturis sacris [ad legendum]¹⁵ doctrinisque canonicis, pene*
23 *cunctis praecebat. In parochia quam regendam susceperat habitantibus. In tantum uero erat*

¹ Matthew, 10, 8.

² Each of the words in brackets is abbreviated to one letter in K; lacuna filled using V and Bonnaire.

³ Psalm 39, vs 11; the quotation from the psalm forms part of a longer quotation from Ambrose: *Ambrosius servus Dei ad Christi fratribus per omnem Italiam in Domino aeternam salutem*, PL xvii, 743-4.

⁴ Lettering in K is faded, emended from Reg. lat. 486.

⁵ Alcuin, *Vita II Vedastis episcopi Atrebatensis*, MGH, SS rer. Merov. 3, ch. 1, p. 416.

⁶ Lettering in K is faded, emended from Reg. lat. 486.

⁷ Lettering in K is faded, emended from Reg. lat. 486.

⁸ Lettering in K is faded, emended from Reg. lat. 486.

⁹ Lettering in K is faded, emended from Reg. lat. 486.

¹⁰ Lettering in K is faded, emended from Reg. lat. 486.

¹¹ Lettering in K is faded, emended from Reg. lat. 486.

¹² Lettering is faded in K, emended from Bonnaire's edition, ch.1 p. 14.

¹³ *Vita Fursei abbatis Latiniacensis*, MGH, SS rer. Merov. 4, ch. 1, p. 434, line 38.

¹⁴ Ibid. ch. 1, p. 435.

¹⁵ Omitted from K, present in V and Bonnaire; inserted for sense.

24 *aptissimus senioribus et coaequalibus ac subiectis ut eloquentia sua placeret omnibus, sibi*
25 *colloquentibus, ita ut merentibus letitiam rederet, scelera gerentibus disciplinam.*¹⁶

26 **4.a.** In tantum enim fama eius creuit, ut etiam Clodoueus rex Francorum eum sibi familiarem faceret et
27 consilio eius libenter oboediret. Suisque uisionibus parens, multas construxit ecclesias desertasque
28 [restaurauit]¹⁷ et monasteria fabricauit, [pauperes]¹⁸ uero eius consilio alebat, dei seruos honorabat.
29 Iustitiam in populis suis monitis exercebat et cultum diuinum amplificabat. Sinodum uero in
30 *Aurelianense ciuitate xxx ii episcoporum congregauit, qui ibi canones statuerunt. Quorum auctor*
31 *maxime sanctus Melanius praedicator Redonensis episcopus extitit,*¹⁹ sicut etiam in prefatione
32 eiusdem consilii, hactenus habetur insertum. Quanta enim et qualia capitula ibidem sunt statuta
33 canonica, in eodem consilio conscripta reperuntur, quae etiam utilia omnibus, scire uolentibus et
34 necessaria esse perspicuum est.

35 **b.** Quanta enim uirtute et gratia atque sapientia predictus sanctus episcopus uidelicet Melanius erat,
36 nemo ut reor digne ualet explicare. *Erat ergo in lege domini sine lassitudine persistens. Actus uero*
37 *uitae suae omni hora custodiebat, oculum uero mentis suae ad dominum semper fixum habebat atque*
38 *consilium et opus suum semper ad dominum conuertebat. Pedes uero eius omni tempore directi erant*
39 *ad euangelizandum pacem et cetera bona.*²⁰ In pastorali autem sollicitudine praedicatione, lustrabat
40 aecclesias et municipia sibi commissa confirmando uisitabat. Euangeliorum semper choruscabat
41 lumine ac diuinis monitis plebem sibi commissam fulciebat. Augebat fidem christianorum et crebro
42 miserabilem gentilium errorem monitis felicibus eiciebat.

43 **c.** *Quadam die, dum beatus Melanius de Redonico pago ad oratorium suum pergeret, quod dicitur*
44 *Platio ex parentum proprietate, uenit in Marciacum Castrum quod in montis celsitudine situm est,*
45 *super riuulum Aue nomine, fuitque antiquus hostis ei obuiam in specie tauri habens cornua. Cognouit*
46 *autem eum uir dei, quem cum requisisset, dicens "Ubi uadis?" Ille respondit, "Enim ad fratres uado,*
47 *portionem eius dare" et dixit se medicium esse. Itaque perexit beatus Melanius ad oratorium suum*
48 *completaque oratione protinus surrexit. Malignus spiritus unum seniore[m] de [cuius]²¹ monachis ubi*
49 *morabantur inuenit aqua haurientem, in quem statim ingressus est eumque in terram proiecit et*
50 *uehementissime uexauit. Quem cum uir dei ab oratione rediens, tam crudeliter uexari conspiceret, ei*
51 *solum modo alapam dedit et malignum ab eo spiritum excussit ita ut ad eum redire ulterius non*
52 *auderet.*²²

¹⁶ Ursinus, *Passio Leudegarii*, MGH SS rer. Merov. 5, ch. 2, p. 325.

¹⁷ Lettering faded in K, emended from Reg. lat. 486.

¹⁸ Lettering faded in K, emended from Reg. lat. 486.

¹⁹ *Adnotatio de Synodis* (see Lippert, 'Die Verwasserschaft', p. 53).

²⁰ *Vita Landiberti episcopus Traiectensis uetustissima*, MGH SS rer. Merov. 6, ch. 8, p. 362.

²¹ Lettering faded in K, emended from V and Bonnaire.

²² Gregory the Great, *Dialogues*, Bk 2, ch. 30.

53 **d.** *Apostolicam normam tenebat in doctrina humana, ostendens contra uulnera ornatam regulam et*
54 *rectam. Ipse uero roborabat se diuinis obsequiis, uigiliis et orationibus, ieiuniis, elemosinis et ceteris*
55 *bonorum operum exhibitionibus. Fidem secundum dei uoluntatem praecepta seruebat consummatione*
56 *et coronam iustitiae semper expectabat, quo assidue ante oculos eius dies ultima uersabatur.*²³ Oculos
57 in caelum intentis, animum ab oratione non relaxabat. Uirtutum autem miracula et [signorum]²⁴
58 prodigia praegressit longum est enumerare. Sed memoria sanctissimae recordationis qua rememorare
59 dignum duximus aliquid reminiscamur. Tanta autem ei fuerant miracula et ingentia signorum prodigia
60 quanta nec per diem legi aut commemorari a quoquam uidentur. Nam innumerabilis cecis reddidit
61 uisum, claudis gressum, debilibus restaurationem, infirmis sanitatem, mutis colloquium. Porro tantae
62 uirtutis erat ut non demon ante illum se celare ualeret.

63 **e.** Qua propter innumerabiles a demonibus obsessos dei uirtute suis precibus ac meritis liberauit
64 homines. Quadam autem die dum circumiret parrochiam suam, nuntiatum est ei a parentibus et amicis
65 cuiusdam matrona nobilis quae in pago Cenomannico iuxta pagum Redonensem iacebat infirma, cui
66 nomen [erat Eua]²⁵. Predicta uero Eua duodecim [annis]²⁶ aegrotans nec per se [surgere potuit]²⁷,
67 cuius parentes et amici, ut dictum est, accedentes ad predictum sanctum Melanium episcopum
68 deprecabantur eum ut per sua mercede eum [uisitaret]²⁸ et sua sancta dextera signum crucis super eam
69 faceret quia ei meritis leuius ei esse credebant. Timens autem memoratus pontifex domini sententiam
70 qua ait, “infirmus fui et non uisitatis me”²⁹ et cetera. Cum ipsis ad eam perrexit et in domum eius
71 ingressus, manu dextera signum crucis super eam fecit et sacro oleo cum oratione more sacerdotali
72 illam limens sanauit atque statum pristinum ei integrauit, fretus uirtute altissimi. Quae mox surgens et
73 supra pedes stans, gratias domino egit, qui per sanctum pontificem suum eam sanauit. Quae dum
74 aegrotans substantiam suam medicis erogauit et nihil ei profuit et semper deterius habuit. Modo uero
75 sana effecta, sancto se tradidit in seruitium et domino postmodum in hesit.

76 **f.** Supradictus itaque pontifex, ut diximus nobilis genere, uirtutum miraculis effulsit in mundo. Deo
77 uero amabilis diuitias saeculi contempnens, domino in omnibus placere studuit. Quantae uero
78 abstinentia fuerit quantisque uigiliis et orationibus atque elemosinarum largitionibus ceterumque
79 uirtutum magnarum miraculis exercitatus uixerit soluis dei maiestas quae etiam occulta cordum rimatur
80 nouit.

²³ *Vita Landiberti episcopus Traiectensis uetustissima*, ch. 10, p. 364.

²⁴ Lettering faded in K, emended from Bonnaire.

²⁵ Lettering faded in K, emended from Reg. lat. 486 and Bonnaire.

²⁶ Lettering faded in K, emended from Reg. lat. 486 and Bonnaire.

²⁷ Lettering faded in K, emended from Reg. lat. 486.

²⁸ Bonnaire has, ‘in sitaret’; passage absent from Reg. lat. 486.

²⁹ Matt. 25, 36 (also quoted in chapter 36 of the Benedictine Rule).

81 g. Nos autem quanta ab eo acta dei uirtute nouimus, etiam supra homines esse cognouimus. Erat ergo
82 expectabilis dignitas in sacerdote simul et pontifice, venerabilis gratia, laudabilis operatio et
83 ueneranda senectus, siquidem uenerabilis castitas ac predicatio assidua, cuius etiam sanctitatem ne
84 diuitius occultaretur uirtutem uoluit Deus miraculis pro testari. Nec silendum arbitror inter cetera
85 uenerabilia eius opera signum quod sequenti tempore eius meritis declaratum est, sed potius
86 praedicandum.

87 h. Adducitur ergo ei *quidam paralyticus uniuersorum membrorum damnatur officio*, qui nullam
88 recuperandi iam spem habens sed totam indo ponens fiduciam. Postulabat siquidem a predicto sancto
89 antistite sanitatis medicinam, cui deinceps deuotus et obediens cupiebat existere et res suas ei dare.
90 Cuius miseriae sanctus Dei condolens ut *uitalis olei benedictionem super eum linuit*. Mox morbus
91 excluditur et *salubris uigor infundebitur*,³⁰ qui sanitate praecepta cum omnibus suis predicti sancti
92 pontificis se tradidit obsequus atque ei inhaesit deinceps famulatum ac Deo se tradidit et ab omnibus
93 se separauit. Reliquit mundum cum satellitibus suis, sociauitque se Deo et angelis suis.

94 i. Currente autem tempore prodeunt predicti sancti uiri meritis multorum miraculorum in signia.
95 Denique erat quidem uir Siagrius nomine grauissimae aegretudinis incommoda sustinens, quem
96 nulliis terreni medici [medicantum]³¹ currari ualuit. Dum autem [praedictis sancti uiri]³² optutibus est
97 praesentatus oratione pro eo depraecantibus, amiciis [...iatione] effusa ad dominum cum sanctificati
98 olei ac delibutione, eiecit morbum et ei pristinam reddidit sanitatem.

99 jj. Vertente quoque tempore quidam pedibus ambobus contractis proicitur ante eum, cuius miseriam
100 sanctus Dei respiciens, pro eo preces fundens latos infirmi pedes aquae calidae fomento restaurauit ac
101 pristinae restituit sanati, ita ut [...mine] opem ferente per se repedaret ad propria, qui predicti sancti
102 episcopi se tradidit obsequiis omnibusque diebus uitae suae inhaesit seruitio. Cuius etiam progenies
103 usque in hodiernam diem sanctum eius custodit sepulchrum et cum lumine ibidem uigiliis et
104 orationibus, insistere solitam est, memor semper benefi[ciam]³³ antistitis predicti, Deumque laudibus,
105 extollens eius aecclesiae excubius [inseruit]³⁴.

106 k. Denique quaedam puella [demonio plena]³⁵ eiusque ligaminibus constricta adducitur ad sanctum
107 uirum, [ante cuius]³⁶ conspectum se demon qui [hanc]³⁷ cruciabat minime celare potuit sed ad eius

³⁰ Last three italicised sections taken from Venantius *Fortunatus, Vita Germani episcopus Parisiaci*, MGH SS rer. Merov. 7, ch. 43, p. 399.

³¹ Lettering faded in K, emended from Bonnaire.

³² Lettering faded in K, emended from Reg. lat. 486, which however reads '*praedicti*'.

³³ Emended for sense – absent from other copies.

³⁴ Lettering faded in K, emended from Reg. lat. 486.

³⁵ Lettering faded in K, emended from Reg. lat. 486.

³⁶ Lettering faded in K, emended from Reg. lat. 486.

³⁷ Lettering faded in K, emended from Reg. lat. 486.

108 interrogatione cum aliis septem spiritibus inmundis puellam arreptam pro sceleribus habere confessus
109 est, quem signo crucis sanctus dei antistes Melanius ab ea fugauit eique sanitatem pristinam restituit.

110 **l.** Vertente autem tempore uenit ad eum quidam uir Medias nomine, cuius filius in debilitate nimia
111 iacebat egrotus et ait ad beatum Melanium, “Deprecor te homo dei ut restituas mihi filium meum
112 quia debilitatur eius corpore” et haec dicens fremebat ualde. Erat enim in Placio³⁸, iuxta fluuium
113 Vincenoniam. Beatus uero Melanius, prosternens se super genua sua et caput manu demulcens
114 dicebat, “Confortare fili tantum, crede et inplebitur uoluntas tua.” Tunc adprehendens manum³⁹ eius
115 erexit eum, qui surrexit super pedes suos incolumis.

116 **m.** Vertente autem tempore conuenerunt uir dei Melanius et electus dei Albinus, sanctes Victor atque
117 Launus, simulque sanctus Marsus ad basilicam sanctae dei genitricis Mariae in Andecauis. Ibi que
118 beatus Melanius missam celebrauit de capite ieiunu in quadragesima. Antequam recessissent, dedit
119 eius domnus Melanius eulogias in caritate cum sua benedictione. Beatus Marsus renuit eulogiam et
120 caritatem quam communicare debuit et in sinu suo cadere permisit osculatique se inuicem, iter agere
121 coeperunt. Non longe ab urbe amplius quam decimo militario, ibi uersa est in sinu Marsi in figuram
122 serpentis, ut cognouit se a caritatem offensum. Volutus ad pedes Melanii qualiter ei euenisset
123 indicauit. Cogitans intra se, beatus Melanius ait illi, “Perge uelociter ad fratrem meum Albinum et
124 confitere ei quod egisti.” Ita ei fecit. Intellexit uir dei eius negligentiam et dixit, “Vade ad fratrem
125 nostrum Victorem et narra ei omnia.” Et fecit sicut iusserat illi uir dei. Venit Cinomanos
126 [Cennomanis], ad beatum Victorem et omnia ei retulit. Memorans beatus Victor quod in ore duorum
127 uel trium [testum omem uerbum]⁴⁰ stabit, dixit illi, “[Reuertere]⁴¹ ad sanctissimum antistitem nostrum
128 Melanium, credo quod per eius merita et intercessionem, liberaberis”. Arrepto itinere cum magno
129 labore, uenit ad beatum Melanium semiuiuus et inuenit eum orantem in [Placio]⁴² in basilica [et]⁴³
130 narrauit ei laborem itineris sui. Tunc beatus Melanius in ipsa nocte in oratione persistens, in crastino
131 fudit super eum benedictionem suam et uersus est serpens in pristinam eulogiam, et communicauit ea
132 gaudens, quo prius renuerat.⁴⁴

133 **n.** Unus autem senex de Uenetensi pago, cuius filius habebat spiritum in mundum, rogabat
134 beatissimum antistitem Melanium, dicens “Sana, queso uir dei, filium meum quia male a demonio
135 uexatur.” Demon uero sciens futurum esse ut [...ceritur]⁴⁵, seduxit puerum in secretum cubiculum et

³⁸ K repeatedly uses ‘palatio’ in place of ‘Placio’ from here onward.

³⁹ uenit...manum from Gregory of Tours, *Acta Andreae*, Bk I, ch. 14, pp. 598-9.

⁴⁰ Lettering faded in K, emended from Bonnaire.

⁴¹ Lettering faded in K, emended from Bonnaire.

⁴² K: ‘palatio eius’.

⁴³ Faded in K, added for sense.

⁴⁴ This section later influenced the late ninth-century *De miraculis sancti Germani*, verses 6-14.

⁴⁵ Lettering faded in K, emended from Bonnaire.

136 *suffocauit eum laqueo, extorquens animam eius. Denique, pater pueri cum inuenisset [ad illum]⁴⁶*
 137 *mortuum stat, fleuit multum [dixitque]⁴⁷ amiciis suis, “Efferte [cadauer]⁴⁸ eius. Confido enim quod*
 138 *[poterit resuscitare]⁴⁹ uir dei beatus Melanius filium meum qui predicat dominum uerum.” Quo facto,*
 139 *deportauerunt eum et posuerunt ante beatum antistitem, narrauit ei pater eius qualiter interfectus est a*
 140 *demone, dicens, “Credo, uir dei ut etiam a morte per te possit resurgere”. Conversus autem beatus*
 141 *Melanius ad populum, dixit, “Quod uobis proderit, uiri Venitenses cum haec fieri uidetis et ceteras*
 142 *uirtutes in nomine domine nostri Iesu Christi et nisi indubitanter creditis. At illi dixerunt. “Ne*
 143 *dubites uir dei, quia isto resuscito omnes credemus”. Haec illis dicentibus, ait beatus Melanius, “In*
 144 *nomine dei nostri Iesu Christi,⁵⁰ qui fratrem meum dominum Martinum tres mortuos [permisisti*
 145 *resuscitare]⁵¹, deprecor te piissime pater, ut per te, me indignum famulum tuum [deprecantem]⁵², ut*
 146 *populus qui circumstat, potentiam tuam in nullo de esse confidat, si tua fuerit uoluntas suscita istum*
 147 *puerum”. Et haec dicens, posuit crucem super pectus mortui et statim surrexit et stupefactus omnis*
 148 *populis clamabat, dicens, “Sufficit. Nunc credimus cuncti dominum quem predicat⁵³ beatus Dei*
 149 *famulus Melanius”.*

150 **5.** Denique Eusebius rex, ueniens in Uenonicum cum suo exercitu, pertendit usque ad Cambliciacum
 151 uillam et ibi multos oculos hominum erui iussit, et manus abscidi. In ipsa nocte aegrotare coepit uariis
 152 langoribus, intantum ut unice uitam finire putaret, quia medici adiutorium ei prebere non poterant, et
 153 filia cuius Haspasia post triduum a demone correpta, coepit uoluntari spumans. Audiens itaque
 154 Eusebius crudelissimus dux fama beati Melanii, qualiter dominum diligeret, cum magna diligentia
 155 iussit illum uenire ad se et in loco qui dicitur Prima uilla. Hospitium ei preparari iussit. [Ueniens
 156 autem beatus Melanius]⁵⁴ de oratorio suo, quod dicitur Platio, quod ibi manibus proprius fabricauit in
 157 laudem dei cum paucis de suis monachis, ad lecutulum dicti Eusebii et fletit super eum. Qui dum
 158 domno antistiti fuisset confessus propria delicta et qualiter ei infirmitas corporis accidisset et de filia
 159 sua Haspasia nomine nuntiasset. Uir dei, plenus gratia cognita dei uirtute, dedit ei poenitentiam et
 160 dixit illi, “*Infirmitas haec non est ad mortem,*”⁵⁵ et unxit cum oleo suo benedicto tribus uicibus cum
 161 trina diuina inuocatione et statim sanus surrexit et retulit gratias deo, qui per famulam suam beatum
 162 Melanium sanitatem illi concessit. Postquam autem peruenit ad locum ubi puella a doemonio
 163 torquebatur. Emittens uocem magnam demonem per os puellaem dixit, “*Quid me persequeris, uir dei*
 164 *Melani? Iam de alia me eiecisti et nunc me hinc eicere uis!*”⁵⁶ Ait ei uir beatus Melanius. “*Exi ab ea*

⁴⁶ Lettering faded in K, emended from Bonnaire.

⁴⁷ Missing, added for sense from Bonnaire.

⁴⁸ Lettering faded in K, emended from Bonnaire.

⁴⁹ Faded, reconstructed from the *Acta Andreae*.

⁵⁰ Gregory of Tours *Acta Andreae*, ch. 13, pp. 596-9.

⁵¹ Lettering faded in K, emended from Reg. lat. 486.

⁵² Lettering faded in K, emended from Reg. lat. 486.

⁵³ Gregory of Tours *Acta Andreae*, ch. 13, pp. 596-9.

⁵⁴ Added from *Vita Interpolata* 1, in Reg. lat. 496, as last line of ms missing.

⁵⁵ John, 11, 4.

⁵⁶ Echoes Gregory the Great, *Dialogues*, Bk II, ch. 8.

165 cruenta bestia, et uade [in illo loco ut amplius ullum homine non possis nocere”, quae statim sana
166 facta est puella et uenit]⁵⁷ ad patrem suum gaudens. Deprecabatur eum ut ipsam uillam Caliciagum
167 beato Melanio confirmasset, et statim pater puellae per anulum suum ei concessit ad discipulos suos
168 alendos, benedixit eis et ad Redonis ciuitate reuertatur.

169 6. Aliarum siquidem magnarum uirtutem miracula non nulla pro magnitudine operas hic inserere
170 distulimus, sed in alia scedula de multis saltim pauca congesimus, quod ab recordationem memorati
171 pontificis ad laudem et gloriam omnipotentis Dei, qui dat seruis suis uirtutem et potestate signum
172 faciendi egimus. *Haec itaque omnia fideliter atque ut gesta sunt uel comperta uel dicta deuotissimis*
173 *animis qui noueratis recognoscite, qui ignorabatis agnoscite, gloriosas sancti Melanii in saecula*
174 *aeterna uirtutes, mentis oculis contuentes unusquisque pro uiribus eum [imitari]⁵⁸ [illeg] [dederit*
175 *animos]⁵⁹ preparate et uir beatus Melanius throno caelo usque⁶⁰ indicitur Domini [collocatus]*
176 *sacerdotibus ministris clero nobisque omnibus et ei qui instinctu uostro, ista composuit patrocinetur*
177 *flexis poplitibus et mente deuota in definenter orate.*⁶¹

178 7. Igitur sanctus Melanius obitum suum longe ante pronoscens, discipulis suis diem exitus sui
179 annuntiauit absolutionemque petens, eos benedixit et uerbis diuinis instruens qualiter agere deberent
180 perdocuit, qui cursu uitae suae peracto feliciter in die qua predixerat, migravit ad dominum in loco qui
181 Platio uocatur, ubi aeclesia manibus propriis construxit. Audiens transitium, beatus Albinus Uictor,
182 Launis, nec non et sanctus Marsus qui per ei uirtutem a serpente fuerit liberatus per uisionem
183 angelicam, conuenerunt ad corpus eius custodiendum et nauigando per Vicynoniam reuersi sunt ad
184 Redonis usque ciuitatem quam feliciter gubernauit, ubi xii *tenebantur in carcere, qui eum audito eius*
185 *aduentu ut sui misereretur orarent*⁶² *divisa est turre media contra meridiem et liberati sunt, qui*
186 *tenebantur in carcere et diulgabantur uerba haec per diuersas prouintias, fuerit uir dei Melanius cum*
187 *magna iocundate cum sociis suis iam dictus usque in locum ubi nunc est adoratus.* Sepultusque est
188 cum magno honore a discipulis suis in loco iuxta predictam urbem, in qua modo requiescit, ubi cuius
189 meritis et orationibus multa praestantur beneficia hominibus usque in presentem diem. Sunt namque
190 eius meritis multa ostensa miracula que ad gloriam nominis sui diuina uirtus ad tumulum predicti
191 sancti pontificis ad oculos et aures uiuentium uenire permisit. Quo in loco ad hominibus colitur et

⁵⁷ K illegible, emended from V; Bonnaire has, ‘*et uade similiter in mare ut non habeas potestatem hominem torquere...gaudens*’. Reg. lat. 486’s reading is preferable, if only because the author composing the *Life* at Rennes would have been well aware that the sea is a considerable distance from Comblessac.

⁵⁸ Lettering faded in K, emended from Reg. lat. 486 and Bonnaire.

⁵⁹ Lettering faded in K, emended from Reg. lat. 486 and Bonnaire.

⁶⁰ K barely legible, amended from Paulinus of Nola, *Martyrium* of Genesisius of Arles, AA SS *Augusti* V ch. 7, p. 135.

⁶¹ Ibid. ch. 7, p. 135.

⁶² Paraphrased from *Virtutes Fursei*, ch.10.

192 magnifice laudatur nomine domini Iesu Christi, cuius est cum aeterno patro et spiritu sancto uirtus et
193 honor et gloria et imperium ei laus et potestas [per infinita]⁶³ saecla saeclorum AMEN⁶⁴.

⁶³ Bottom of column cut off in Karlsruhe ms: Reg. lat. 486 has, 'per infinita'.

⁶⁴ 'Amen' written in Greek capitals.

Appendix B: Vita Interpolata 1, transcribed from Vatican, Reg. lat. 486

- 1 Incipit Vita Beati Melanii Confessorem Redonensis episcopi
- 2 1. Cum sociorum patrum priscorum veneranda memoria inomnopotentis dei laude uenerabiliter sit colenda.
3 et eorum honorabilis uita adexemplum fidelium fideliter proferenda: quisq[ue] inductus uoluminibus resus
4 ascribitur qui non studuerit dare gratis quod ipse gratis accepi. Quicquid enim ecclesiae proficit, et auditores
5 imbuit, eosq[ue] adexemplum prouocat bonum; non est silendum, sed potius predicandum' Unde ait
6 psalmista' Iustitiam tuam non abscondi in corde meo; misericordiam et ueritatem tuam a concilio multo
- 7 2. POSTQUAM ERGO DOMINUS NOSTRI IESU CHRISTI mundum sua passioe redemit, et apostolos
8 suos predicare misit, successoresque eorum adpredicandum elegit, qui ab aeterno sole ignorantiae tenebris
9 uero fulgore Christi illuarent, et longam diuini uerbi esuriam, epulis aeternae uitae familiae redemptors
10 fatiarent; Sanctes dei sacerdos Melanius Redonensis episcopus predicare exorsus, est' fuit igitur predictus
11 episcopus nobilis genere; sed nobilior fide' Saeculi dignitate inter suos clarus; sed diuinorum munerum gra'
12 praecipuus' Huius uiri infantia; sacris quidem miraculorum praesagus apparentibus fulgebat' Summis
13 sacerdotibus etiam per diuinam prouidentiam commissus: sacris litteris et diuinis erudiebatur disciplinis'
14 Crescente uero aetate: prouidentiae erga illum effectus ?[rubbed out - typo] cotidie crescebat'
- 15 3. ERAT ENIM DE VENETENSI PAROECHIA oriundus, ex nobilissimis parentibus; in Plazio nutritus: fuit
16 autem forma praecipuus, corpore castus; mente deuotus; Affabilis colloquio: amabilis aspectu; Prudentia
17 egregius; temperantia clarus; Zelo dei et amore feruidus; perpetuesque: uirginitatis ad erant amantis simus
18 custos; Inscripturis sacris ad legendum doctoribus simulque canonicis pene uictis praecebat. paroechie
19 quam regendam useperat habitantibus' Intantum uero erat aptissimus seniorum et coequalium ac
20 subiectorum: ut eloquentia sua placeret omnibus: sibi colloquentibus. ita ut merentibus laetitiam redderet.
21 scelera gerentibus disciplinam'
- 22 4. Intantum enim fama eius diulgata. est a populo; ut etiam eum Clodoueus Rex Francorum sibi familiarem
23 faceret, et consilium eius libenter audiret, suisq[ue] uisionibus parens, multas construxit ecclesias,
24 desertasq[ue] restaurauit; et monasteria fabricauit' Pauperes uero eius consilio alebat; dei seruos honorabat,
25 iustitiam in populo suis monitis exercebat, et cultum diuinum amplificabat' SYNODUM UERO IN
26 Aurelianensi ciuitate xxxta duorum episcoporum congeegauit; qui ibi canones statuer[unt]' Quorum auctor
27 maxime sanctus Melanius Redonensis episcopus extituit; sicut etiam in pre?fatione eiusdem concilii habetur
28 insertum'
- 29
- 30 4.i. Quanta enim et qualia capitula ibidem sint statuta canonico; in eodem concilio conscripta reperiuntur ab
31 ipso sancto; quae etiam utilia omnibus scire uolentibus et necessaria esse perpiciuum est' Quantae enim

32 uirtutis et gratiae atque sapientiae predictus episcopus fuerit; nemo ut reor digne ualet explicare. Erat ergo in
 33 lege domini sine lassitudine persistens; actus uero uitae suae omni hora custodiebat in bonis, oculum autem
 34 mentis suae ad dominum semper fixum habebat; atque consilium et opus suum semper ad dominum
 35 conuertabat' Pedes uero eius omni tempore directi erant ad pacem; et ad cetera bona euangelizanda' Pastoralis
 36 autem sollicitudine praedicando lustrabat ecclesias; et municipia sibi comissa confirmando uisitabat'
 37 Euangeliorum assertionibus augebat fidem christianorum; et crebro miserabilem gentilium errorem nitoribus:
 38 felicitatis ammonitionibus eiciebat'

39 **4.ii.** QUADAM DIE DUM BEATUS MELANIUS de Redonico pago ad oratorium suum qui dicitur Plazio
 40 ex parentum proprietate habens, pergeret; uenit in Marciacum castrum quod in montis celsitudine situm est
 41 super riuulum Aua nomine' fuit autem antiquus hostis ei obuiam in specia tauri habens cornua; cognouitque
 42 eum uir dei' Quem cum requisisset dicens, quo uadis; Ille respondit' En[im?] ad scs uado; potionem eis dare.
 43 Et dixit se medicum esse. Itaque perrexit beatus Melanius ad oratorium suum; completaque oratione protinus
 44 surrexit. Malignus uero sps unum seniore de suis monachis qui ibi morabantur inuenit aquam haurientem;
 45 in quem statim ingressus est, eumque in terram proiecit; et uehementissime uexauit.

46 **4.iii.** Queum uir dei ab oratione rediens, tam crudeliter uexat[us] conspiceret, ei solum odo alapam dedit.
 47 &' malignum ab eo spiritum protinus excussit; ita ut in eum redire ulterius non auderet' APOSTOLICAM
 48 normam tenebat indoctrina humana; ostendens contra uulnera ornatam regulam et rectam' Ipse uero
 49 roborabat se diuinis obsequiis. uigiliis, et orationibus. ieiuniis. elemosinis; et ceteris bonorum operum
 50 exhibitionibus' fidem [secundem] dominum seruatam tenebat; et corona iustitiae semper expectabat. q[ue]m
 51 assidue ante oculos eius dies ultima uersabatur' Oculosque ad caelum intentos; animum ab oratione non
 52 relaxabat' Uirtutes autem et miraculorum signa quae gessit longum, est enumerare; sed ut sanctissime
 53 memoriae eius aliquid commemorare dignum duximus. breuiter reminiscamur' Nam innumerabilibus cecis
 54 reddidit uisum. claudis gressum. debilibus restorationem, infirmis sanitatem, mutis loquellam. Porro tante
 55 uirtutuserat; ut demon ante illum se occultare non ualeret' Qua propter innumerabiles a demonibus obsessos;
 56 dei uirtute suis precibus ac meritis liberauit homines'

57 **4.ii.** QUADAM AUTEM DIE DUM CIRCUMUIRET PARoeciam suam, uisitando et confirmando
 58 populorum dei; nuntiatem, est ei a parentibus et amicis quod quaedam matrona nobilis genere in pago
 59 cenomannico iuxta pagum Redonensem iacebat infirma, cui nomen erat Aeva' Ipsa uero Aeva xii annis aegrota
 60 iacens; nusquam per se surgere poterat de lectulo. Cui[us] parentes et amici ut supra dictum, est, accedentes
 61 ad predictum sanctum; deprecabantur eum ut ei sanitatem concederet, [ur] credentes quia suis meritis et
 62 intercessionibus leuius ei esse. Recordans autem sanctus pontifex sententiam domini qua dicit, infirmus sui et
 63 uisitastis me et cetera; cum ipsis ad eam uenit' Et domum eius ingressus; manu dextera signum crucis super
 64 eam fecit: et sacro oleo sum oratione dominia illam linuit; atque statim pristinum ei redintegrauit fretus
 65 uirtute altissimi' Que mox surgens, et supra pedes se erigens; dominum egit gratias, qui eam per suum
 66 sanctum pontificem reddidit sanitati' Ipsa ergo diu iacens in infirmitate; omnem substantiam suam medicis

67 distribuit, et nichil ei profuit, sed semper deterius habuit, modo uero sana effecta, sua omnia tradidit
 68 pontifici; et domino post modum inhesit' Supra dictus itaque pontifex [ut diximus. nobilis genere, uirtute,] et
 69 miraculorum ubertate effulsit in mundo; qui semper darus et uitae amabilis. diuitias saeculi contempnens
 70 domino in omnibus placere studuit' QUANTAE UERO ABSTINENTIAE FUERIT; [lvi] quantisque uigiliis
 71 et orationibus atque elymosinarum largitate pauperibus distribuens et in bonis operibus exercitatus uixerit;
 72 solus dei maiestas nouit'

73 4.v. Nos autem quanta ab eo acta uirtute dei fieri nouimus; etiam supra hominem quae ab eo fiebant, esse
 74 cognouimus' Sese namq[ue] obliuiscens; per sepe deuictu corporis tanquam si simul accederent dignitas et
 75 necessitas' Erat ergo expecabilis dignitas, in sacerdote simul et pontifice' Uenerabilis gra[], laudabilis
 76 operatio, et ueneranda senectus, ac sanctissima in eius corpore astitas' Cuius etiam uirtutes ne diuitius
 77 occultarentur; uoluit dominus miraculis demonstrare' Nec siledum arbitror inter cetera opera signorum eius;
 78 quod sequentibus eius meritis tempus declarat potius praedicandum' Adducitur ergo ei *quidam paralyticus*
 79 *uniuersum membrorum dampnatus officio*; qui nullam iam recuperandi spem habens, sed totam in domino
 80 ponens fiduciam; postulabat a predicto sancto antiste sanitatis medicina. Cuius miseriae sanctus dei
 81 condolens; ut *uitalis olei benedictionem super eum linuit*; mox morbo[] excluditur. *et salubris uigor* illabatur'
 82 Qui sanitate percepta cum omnibus suis praedicti sancti uiri se tradidit obsequiis; atque eius seruitio inhesit. et
 83 ab omnibus se saeculi actibus separauit' reliquit munus cum satellitibus suis sociauit se domino et angelis
 84 suis' CURRENTE AUTEM TEMPORE; PRODEUNT praedicti santi meritis multorum miraculorum
 85 insignia, Denique erat quidam uir Siagrius nomine nimiae aegritudinis in commoda sustinens, quem nullus
 86 terreno medicamine ualuit, quem nullus terreno medicamine ualuit curare. Dum autem sancti uiri obtutibus
 87 est praesentatus; orationem per eo fudit ad dominum per cantibus amicis et cum sanctificati olei delibutione
 88 eiecit morbum; et pristinam ei reddidit sanitate. Item ipso tempore; quidam homo pedibus ambobus
 89 contractus proicitur ante eum' Cuius miseriam sanctus dei respiciens pro eo precem sudit; et lauans infirmi
 90 pedes, aquae calide fomento pristinae restituit sanitati; ita ut domino opem serente per se repedaret ad propria'
 91 Qui predictus homo sancti episcopi se tradidit obsequiis: eiusque cunctis diebus uitae suae se commisit
 92 seruitio' Cuius etiam progenies usq[ue] in hodiernum diem sanctum eius custodit sepulchrum; et cum
 93 luminibus ibidem uigilans et orationibus insistere solita. est; memor semper praedicti antistitis bonis.
 94 dominoque laudes reddens et gratias agens; eius ecclesiae excubus inseruit'

95 4.vi. DEINQUE QUAEDAM PUELLA DEMONIO PLENA catenis constricta, adducitur ad sanctum uirum'
 96 Ante cuius conspectum; demon qui hanc cruciabat se latere non potuit' Dicebat enim se pro scelere quod
 97 commiserat; in eam fuisse intrare promissum' Mox uero ut signum crucis sanctus dei antistes Melanius
 98 contra eam imprimens. ab ea malignum spiritum expulit; eique sanitatem pristinam restaurauit' ITIDEM
 99 ERGO TEMPORE VENIT AD EUM *quidam uir Medias nomine cuius filius proximus morti iacebat*
 100 *aegrotus*' Deprecabatur ergo sanctum dei; dicens' *Homo dei restitue michi filium meum*' *Et haec dicens*
 101 *flebat*' Erat enim hoc in Plazio iuxta fluium Uicenoniae' *Beatus* autem Melanius confortans eum, et *caput* et

102 pedes eius *demulcens; dicebat* ' *Confortare fili tantum et crede; et implebitur uoluntas tuam* ' Tunc
 103 apprehendens manum eius eleuauit eum; et surrexit supra pedes suos stans incolumis'

104 **4.vii.** EODEM UERO TEMPORE; CONVENERUNT simul uir dei Melanius, et electus dei Albinus,
 105 sanctusque Uictor. atque Launus, et sanctus Marsus in Andegauis ciuitate. ad basilicam sanctae dei genitricis
 106 Mariae; ibique beatus Melanius missam celebrauit in capite ieiui uidelicet quadrageimae' Post celebratam
 107 autem missam antequam recessissent; dedit eis beatus pontifex euolgias in caritate. cum dei gratia, et
 108 benedictione sua Beatus uero Marsus renuit eulogiam et caritatem qua communicare debuit. uili pendens
 109 quod acceperat a sancto; in finu suo cadere promisit' Accepta ergo licentia unusquisque ab alterutro; oculati
 110 unt se inuicem, et cum domino gratias itinere suo ambulare caeperunt' Non longe autem erant ab urbe
 111 amplius quam decimo milario; uersa, est eulogia infinu Marsi in modum serpentis circum cingens eum 'Ut
 112 ergo cognouit se in oboedienter actum, et a caritate offensum; pro uolutus ad pedes beati Melanii, qualiter ei
 113 euenissent indicauit' Recipiens autem sanctus pontifex eius satis factionem; ait illi' Perge uelociter
 114 frater. ad domnum Albinum fremem meum; et confitere ei quod egisti' Qui consurgens; cepto itinere uenit ad
 115 eum enarrans ei delictum suum' Sanctus uero episcopus audiens negligentiam eius dixit ei' Uade ad fremum
 116 meum Uictorem episcopum; et enarra ei omnia quae egisti, et ut dom[um/inum?] exoret prote. Consurgens
 117 itaque sicut uisserat uir dei; uenit Cenomannis ad beatum Uictorem, et retulit ei omnia quae gesta suerant ab
 118 eo' emorans autem beatus Uictor quod in ore duorum ut triu[um] testium stat omne uerbum; dixit ei'
 119 Reuertere frater ad sanctissimum; dixit ei' Reuertere frater ad sanctissimum; antistitem fremum nostrum
 120 domnum Melanium; credo ut eius meritis et intercessionibus liberaberis' Arrepto autem itinere; cum magno
 121 labore uenit ad beatum Melanium semi uiuus' Inuenitque eum orantem in Plazio in sua basilica; narrauitque
 122 ei laborem itineris sui' Tunc beatus Melanius in ipsa nocte in oratione persistens; incrastinum f[s?]udit super
 123 eum benedictionem suam' Post cuius absolutionem; uersus, est serpens inpristinam eulogiam, et
 124 communicauit se de ea gaudens; quod prius renuerat'

125 **4.viii.** UNUS AUTEM SENEX DE VENETENSI PAGO LX *cuius filius habebat spiritum immundum;*
 126 *rogabat beatum Melanium dicens* ' *Sana quae so uir dei filium eum; quia male a demonio uexatur* ' Demon
 127 *uero sciens se in proximo a sancto eici; duxit puerum incubiculo et suffocauit eum ei[] extorquens animam*
 128 *eius* ' *Denique pater pueri cum uenisset domum, & inuenisset eum moruum; felbat ualde* ' Et ait *amicis suis* '
 129 *ferte cadauer eius* ' *Confido enim quod resuscitare poterit filium meum beatus Melanius; qui predicat*
 130 *domum uerum* ' Quo facto; deportauerunt eum et posuerunt ante beatum antistitem. *Narrauitque ei pater eius*
 131 *qualiter interfectus esset a demone.* Clamabat autem adeum eiulans et flens; *dicens* ' *Credo uir dei ut etiam a*
 132 *morte per te possit resurgere filius meus* ' *Conuersus autem beatus Melanius ad populum; dixit* ' *Quid uobis*
 133 *prodest uenetenses cum haec fieri uidetis et ceteras uirtutes in nomine domini & non credetis; At illi*
 134 *respondentes, dixerunt* ' *Ne dubites uir dei; quia si istum resuscitaueris a mortuis; omn[is] credemus in*
 135 *dominum quem predicas* ' *Haec illis dicentibus; ait beatus Melanius* ' Domine *IESU CHRISTI* fili dei uiui; qui
 136 fremum meum domnum Martinum tres permisisti mortuos resuscitare; deprecorte piissime pater. ut me
 137 indignum famulum tuum deprecantem exaudias, et populus qui circum stat cognoscat potentiam tuam, et in

138 nullo de esse dissidat; si tua fuerit uoluntas ut suscites istum puerum. Et haec dicens; posuit crucem supra
 139 pectus mortui, et statim surrexit' Stupefactus autem omnis populis intali miraculo; clamabat dicens' Sufficit'
 140 Nunc credimus cuncti domum; quem predicat beatus famulus eius Melanius'

141 **5. DENIQUE EUSEBIUS REX UENIENS** de Uenetensi ciuitate cum suo exercitu; peruenit usque ad
 142 Cambliciacum uillam, ibique iratus multos oculos hominum erui iussit. et manus euelli' In ipsa autem nocte
 143 qua hec operatus. est, aegrotare coepit; et uarus languoribus uigueri' medicos qui cum eo erant asciiuit, ut ei
 144 adiutorium in aliquo preberent. Ipsi uero in uanum laborantes; nichil poterant ei iuuari [uiuari?]' Post
 145 triduum autem quod ipse aegrotare coepit; arrepta est a demonio filia eius nomine Aspasia & cepit uolutari
 146 per terram spumans' Audiens itaque dux famam beati Melanii qualiter dominum diligeret, cum summo
 147 honore misit ad eum obsecrans uenire ad se; et in loco qui dicitur prima uilla, hospicium ei praeparari iussit'
 148 Veniens autem beatus Melanius de oratorio suo qui dicitur Plazio, quod ibi manibus proprius fabricauit IN
 149 laudem dei; cum paucis monachis ad lectulum infirmi iam dicti uenit' Quem cu crudelissimus uir iam dictus
 150 fuisset intuitus; paenitentia ductus confessus est ei delicta sua, et qualiter ei haec infirmitas corporis
 151 accedisset; et filiae eius Aspasiae nomine' Uir autem dominum plenus gratia dei & uirtute, dedit ei
 152 paenitentiam pro commisso delicto' Ait uatem illi' Infirmitas haec frater non est tibi ad mortem: sed ut
 153 salueris. et recognoscas dominum qui te creauit' Unxitque eum de oleo suo benedicto. trib[] uicibus cum
 154 trina et diuina in uocatione; et statim sanus surrexit' Retulitque gratis dom[] qui famulum suum beatum
 155 Melanium sanitatem illi concessit ' Veniens uero sanctus ad locum ubi puella a demonio torquebatur; et
 156 uidens eum demon uoce magna cepit clamare et dicere' Quid me persequeris sancte uir dei Melani; iam de
 157 alia me eiecisti, et nunc me hinc eicere uis; Increpans autem eum beatus Melanius; ait illi; Exi ab ea cruenta
 158 bestia; et uade in illo loco ut amplius ullum homine non possis nocere' Quae statim sana facta, est; et uenit
 159 ad patrem suum gaudens et glorificans deum. Deprecabatur ergo eum; ut ipsam uillam Cambliciacum beato
 160 Melanio condonaret' Qui statim concessit ei per anulum suum; ad discipulos suos alendos' Benedicens ergo
 161 eos. Redonis ciuitate reuersus est; ad cathedram episcopatus sui'

162 **6. Aliarum si quidem magnarum uirtutum & miraculorum pro sui magnitudine hic inserere distulimus, sed de**
 163 multis pauca congesimus, ob recordationem memorati pontificis ad laudem et gloriam omnipotentis dei, qui
 164 dat seruis suis uirtutem et potestatem signa faciendi; et fidelimente conscripsimus' Haec itaque omnia
 165 fideliter ut gesta sunt ul dicta deuotissimis animis quae noueratis recognoscite, quae ignorabatis agnoscite; et
 166 gloriam iam praefati sancti in aeterna secula mentis oculo contuentes; unus quisque pro ut uiribus eum
 167 dominus imitari dominus dederit animos preparete.

168 **7. IGITUR SANCTISSIMUS MELANIUS** obitum suum longe ante prenoscens; discipulis suis diem obitus
 169 sui prenuntiauit, absolutionemque eis faciens, et eos benedicens, seu uerbis diuinis instruens; qualiter se
 170 agere deberent in seruitio domini edocuit' Qui cursu uitae suae fideliter peracto; feliciter in die qua
 171 predixerat migravit ad Christum. in loco qui uocatur Plazio ubi ipse manibus proprius ecclesiam construxit,
 172 et seruos dei illic congregauit ad dei seruitium facien

173 dum' Per uisionem autem angelicam; conuerierunt ad obsequium corporis eius faciendum sanctissimi
 174 pontifices, uidelicet sanctus Albinus. et Uictor. sanctus Launus, nec NON & sanctus Marsus, qui per eius
 175 uirtutem a serpentis cingulo fuerat liberatus; tota nocte in dei laudibus, uigiliis et orationibus consistentes,
 176 summo mane missas celebraturi agressi sunt' Quas per actas per dei prouidentiam; consilio accepto.
 177 deposuerunt corpus sancti uiri in nauim in Uicenoniae fluuium' Qui fluuius suscipiens sanctum corpus eius;
 178 recto tramite cum pontificibus & clericis et monachis laetantibus. et populis do[] gratius agentibus
 179 qui eum sequebantur; peruenerunt usque ad ciuitatem quam ipse sanctus feliciter gubernauit' Cumque prope
 180 muros ciuitatis iam aduenissent; clerici et omnis populus qui in eadem urbe consistebant. processerunt ei
 181 obuiam cum crucibus et cereis, et uexillis, canentes et laudantes dominum in sublime' AUDIENTES
 182 AUTEM UOCES PSALLENTIUM duodecim latrones qui tenebantur uincti in unam turrum quae erat contr
 183 meridiem iuxta murum ciuitatis opposita; flebilibus uocibus ceperunt eius misericordiam implorare; ut eis
 184 misereretur' Cumque clamarent ad dominum et de precarent sanctum Melanium; diuisa est turris quae erat
 185 exlapidibus, a summo usque deorsum, et soluti sunt a uinculis et liberati qui tenebantur in carcere'
 186 Diulgatum est autem hoc miraculum per diuersas prouintias'

187 7.i. ERAT AUTEM IN PROXIMO ultra fluuium Uicenoniae quaedam mater familias; quae per multos annos
 188 caeca fuerat, audito hoc miraculo quod dominus pro eo operatus est. cum parentibus et amicis ueniens ad
 189 sanctum corpus, et oculans pedes eius, statim recepit lumen. Quae gaudens et domino gratias agens et sancto;
 190 terram quam in hereditate tenebat ultra fluuium ubi habitabat; tradidit ei' BEATI AUTEM PONTIFICIS
 191 Accipientes propriis manibus sanctum corpus; asportauerunt usque in locum ubi nunc ueneratur et colitur.
 192 ubi eius meritis & intercessionibus multa prestantur beneficia usque in hodiernum diem. Colitur autem eius
 193 depositio; VIII ides Novembris prestante domino nostro IESU CHRISTO; cui est cum aeterno patre et
 194 spiritu sancto, uirtus, honor, gloria et imperium laus, et potestas, per infinita saecula saeculorum, amen.

195 EXPLICIT VITA SANCTI MELANII PONTIFICIS

Appendix C: Vita, Miracula and Translatio Maglorii

The Vita

There are ten manuscript copies of the *Vita Maglorii*, listed in Poulin's *L'hagiographie bretonne*. This edition is created from three: Paris, BNF lat. 15436, Paris, BNF lat. 5283 and Paris, BNF lat. 11951, with the aid of Van Hecke's print edition.¹ BNF lat. 15436 was chosen as it provides a copy of the longest version of the *Vita* while BNF lat. 11951 was chosen as it provides a copy of the shorter version. Digital copies of both are available for free online via the Bibliothèque Nationale website. BNF lat. 5283 was introduced as it is the only manuscript to contain a copy of the Prologue to the *Vita*, and as obtaining an entire copy of the *Vita* as contained in BNF lat. 5283 was no more costly than obtaining only a copy of the Prologue, the material from the initial two manuscripts was checked against the content of BNF lat. 5283. BNF lat. 5283 also reflects the lengthiest state of the *Vita*'s redaction. Van Hecke's edition, created from BNF lat. 11951 and a copy made by Mabillon from a *Codex Rubrae Vallis* (identified by Poulin as Brussels, BR 11987, ff.85-88v), reflects the shorter state of the *Vita*. Van Hecke's edition was used to check those portions of BNF lat. 11951 that are difficult to read on the digitised copy. Sub-headings that do not appear in any of the BNF manuscripts and appear to be Mabillon's or Van Hecke's are not included.

The Miracula

The *Miracula* edited by La Borderie are preserved in only two manuscripts: Paris, BNF lat. 15436 and Paris, BNF Arsenal 1032. This edition relies on BNF lat. 15436, aided by La Borderie's edition.²

The Translatio

The *Translatio* is preserved in four manuscripts: Paris, BNF lat. 15436, ff. 69v-72; Paris, BNF, Arsenal 1032, ff. 53-55; Paris, BNF lat. 6003, ff. 71v-73v and Paris, BNF frs 22308 (Blancs-Manteaux 1).

This edition relies on BNF lat. 15436, with reference to La Borderie's edition.

Chapter numbers for the *Vita* are taken from Mabillon's edition. Chapter divisions and numbers for those parts of the *Miracula* not published by Mabillon are taken from La Borderie's edition. The chapter structure is not integral to any of the surviving manuscript copies, but has been retained to make it easier to navigate the text. The capitalised chapter headings are taken from BNF lat. 15436, although they are not present in BNF lat. 11951.

Punctuation and orthography

¹ Van Hecke, 'De S. Maglorio'.

² La Borderie, 'Miracles de saint Magloire', pp. 230-338.

The original punctuation has been replaced with modern English punctuation, and reflects punctuation used in the English translation. Abbreviations have been expanded and spellings reflect those of standard insular Latin, with variant spellings indicated in the footnotes. The use of modern punctuation and spelling is intended to make it easier for readers to understand the text, and also simplifies the work of editing, as punctuation and spellings vary across manuscripts. Folio numbers have been omitted, as these are numerous, and as there are several printed editions that can be consulted more easily than the manuscript editions. Moreover, the thesis is intended to focus on Maglorius' hagiography as historical evidence, rather than as a manuscript tradition alone.

*Vita Maglorii**Prologue [also published in partial form by La Borderie]*

1 INCIPIT PROLOGUE IN VITA SANCTI MAGLORII QUE EST VIII KL NOUEMBRIS...
 2 CUM IGITUR gloriosissimus prophetarum David omnem psalmorem plenitudinem, in qua aliquando
 3 benigna uox summi patris, aliquando uox Christi et ecclesiae aliquando uox apostolorum, aliorumque
 4 sanctorum resonat, atque *ad decantandam laudem*¹ illorum et *ad promerendam aeternae*² salutis
 5 remunerationem multa dulce tymphanum concrepant, accens igne spiritus sancti prophetico sermone
 6 descripsisset, in fine psalterii sui locutus est dicens, “*Cantate domino canticum nouum, laus eius in ecclesia*
 7 *sanctorum.*”³ Ubi quibusdam interpositis addidit dicens, “*Laudate dominum in sanctis eius,*”⁴ qui superius in
 8 longum protrahens, ut omnis creatura Creatorem suum solum dominum incessabili uoce confiteri &
 9 magnificare [decernant],⁵ frequentius admonet.

10 Hic autem per additamentum eundem dominum in sanctis suis laudare iubet. *In quo siquidem loco*⁶ *non ab re*
 11 *creditur*⁷ in laudem domini sanctos suos augmentasse. Sed quaeri potest, cum aliter sit singulatim laudare
 12 dominum, aliter sanctos eius, cur psalmista uterque coniungi uoluit, dominum namque laudare et adorare est,
 13 sicuti sanctum sanctorum, sicuti Dominum dominorum et Creatorem omnium, regem que saeculorum in
 14 sempiternae di[ui]nitatis maiestate, antequam nuntius fieret semper existentem, de quo
 15 scriptum est, “*Omnis sapientia a domino dei est et cum illo fuit semper et est ante aevum.*”⁸ Sanctos uero
 16 laudare est, et uenerare. Sicuti creaturam ab ipso creatore conditam, et [peractus ?] suis temporis pietate illius
 17 sanctitatis gra[tiam] habentem. In quorum specie [eadem] psalmista interim [?] dixit, “*quoniam Dominus,*
 18 *ipse fecit nos, et non ipsi nos,*”⁹ inter quos creationis differentiam facit apostolus cum ait, ‘*Alia enim claritas*
 19 *solis, alia claritas luna.*”¹⁰

20 Luna autem secundum quosdam a lumine solis inlustratur, cuius quidem lunae significatione ecclesia, quae
 21 allegorice fidelium ecclesia est, congregatio exprimitur. Quae at defectum carnis in se habeant, tamen a sole
 22 iust[ici]a Christo domino, sanctitatis claritatis suscipiunt. Unde idem apostolus ait, “*quoniam deus dixit, de*
 23 *tenebris lucuem splendescere, qui inluxit in cordibus nostris ad inlucinationem scientiae claritatis dei in*
 24 *facie Iesu Christi.*”¹¹ Haec est illa lux, de qua Iohannes euangelista, “*erat lux uera, quae luminat omnem*
 25 *hominem uenientem in hunc mundum.*”¹² Ipsamque beatus Petrus apostolus Iacobus et Iohannes, per

¹ Alcuin, *Vita Willibrordi, archiepiscopus Traiectensis*, ch. 11, eMGH SS rer. Mer. 7, p. 115.

² Salvianus Massiliensis, *De gubernatione Dei*, Bk 4, ch. 7.

³ Vulgate, Psalm 149, vs. 1.

⁴ Vulgate, Psalm 150, vs. 1.

⁵ Amended from ‘decernat’.

⁶ *Vita Maglorii*, ch. 13, line 249.

⁷ *Vita Maglorii*, ch. 5.b, line 111.

⁸ Vulgate, Ecclesiasticus (or ‘Book of Sirach’). 1, 1.

⁹ Vulgate, Psalm 99, vs. 3.

¹⁰ Vulgate, Corinthians I, 15, 40.

¹¹ Vulgate, Cor. II, 4, 6.

¹² Vulgate, John, I, 9.

26 transfigurationem ipsius in monte uidere meruere, sicut legitur, “*et resplendit facies eius sicut sol.*”¹³ Cuius
 27 splendor gloriae, non solum fortis eum circumsepsit, uerum etiam ad cognoscendam Moyses et Helie
 28 presentiam, quos ante nesciebant, corda eorum inter referauit, quod aperte declarat, cum Petrus dominum
 29 allocutus est dicens, “*domine, bonum est nos hic esse, suus, faciamus hic tria tabernacula, Tibi unum, Moysi*
 30 *unum, et Helie unum.*” Sed quia de inlustratione ecclesiae, a Christo domino iam diximus, nunc quiddam ex
 31 eius defectu breuiter percurramus. Ante et enim Redemptoris nostri passionem primitiua ecclesia in
 32 apostolis, cum adhuc mentes illorum ad capienda celestia sacramentorum oracula, obtusae erant, quasi luna
 33 defectum paciebatur. Unde Dominus in euangelio ait, “*Multa habeo uobis dicere,*¹⁴ sed non potestis portare
 34 modo. Quasi enim futurus pastor ecclesie, ipse uidelicet Le[ti]us circa solem caligauit, cum supra mare ut
 35 ueniret ad Christum ambulans, in aspectu eius flante uento territur titubauit. Quadere abissus aquae eum
 36 deglutiret, clamauit dicens, “*Domine saluum me fac.*” *Qui extendens manum adprehendit eum et dixit ei,*
 37 “*Modicae fidei quare dubitasti?*¹⁵

38 Caligauit quoque in passione eiusdem domini, cum metu Iudeorum non solum ipsum negauit, sed etiam
 39 coepit unare, quia non nouisset hominem. Caligauentur etiam ceteri apostoli circa eum, cum ab eo
 40 recesserunt, ut legitur, & relicto eo, omnes fugerunt. Caligauer’ quidam discipulorum, cum dicebant, ‘*Nos*
 41 *autem sperabamus, quod ipse esset redempturus Israel.*’¹⁶ Sed cum idem Redemptor noster post
 42 *resurrectionem*¹⁷ suam, maiestatis suae presentia corporaliter, eisdem discipulis apparuit & micancia eorum
 43 corda clarificauit, et sensum ut intellexerent scripturas eis concessit, atque insufflauit eos dicens, ‘*accipite*
 44 *spiritum sanctum quorum remisieritis peccata remittuntur eis et quorum retinueritis retentas?*¹⁸ quid aliud,
 45 nisi sol uerus fulgentes *radios solis*¹⁹ mentibus illorum infudit?

46 Cumque non solum eis sed etiam in praecurrentibus annis multis sanctorum post apostolos existentium,
 47 *potestatem ligandi atque soluendi,*²⁰ infirmos sanandi, demonibus imperandi, mortuos resuscitandi, atque
 48 contra hostes ecclesiae uirile certamen ore dimicandi tribuit, quid etiam cunctos salutaria dona intulit nisi tot
 49 lucernas eos profudit? De eo namque Christo sanctisque eius, hinc Abbacuc ait, ‘*sol et luna, steterunt in*
 50 *habitu suo.*’²¹ Et quid huius habitaculi nomine, nisi domus non manu facta aeterna in coelis intelligitur,
 51 in qua eosdem sibi uicissim conuinctos longe ante isdem propheta enitescere peruidit, cum eadem retulit.
 52 Quos enim ipse per solem et lunam nominauit, hos apostolos caput Christum et ecclesiam membra eius dixi.
 53 Et quia membra sancti Dei capiti, per gratiam ipsius quam acceper[ent] ab eo, et per bone operationis
 54 meritum adherent, et alter ab altero non secernit[ur]. Sed in ambobus unum corpus efficitur congruenter una
 55 in utrisque iuxta psalmiste uocem laus fieri debet sicut ipse ait, ‘*laudate domum in sanctis eius*’²² duplici

¹³ Vulgate, Matt. 17, 2.

¹⁴ Vulgate, John 16, x12.

¹⁵ Vulgate, Matt. 14, 30-1.

¹⁶ Vulgate, Luke 24, 21.

¹⁷ *Vita Maglorii*, 5.b line 132.

¹⁸ Vulgate, John 20, 22.

¹⁹ Wrmonoc, *Vita Pauli Aureliani*, Bk III, ch. 15/44, p. 240.

²⁰ Alcuin, *Epistula* 3, eMGH, Epp. 4, p. 23, line 18.

²¹ Vulgate, Habbakuk 3, 11.

²² Vulgate, Psalm 150, vs.1.

56 quippe mode nos ipse David, instruit cum hec ait, “Uno autem cum eundem Christum dominum sanctosque
57 eius in laudem [comitari]²³ praecipit”. Altero siquidem cum ualde necessarium cordibus nostris ostendit
58 salutis remedium,

59 acsi nos alloquens, “quotiens cumque sacratissima eorumque uobiscum degunt corpora expetere festinatis
60 eisque, pio amore insistentes, genua flectitis, pectus tunditis, deuotissima illorum incessanter subsidia
61 quaerite, ut apud Christum dominum mediatores existentes, pro uestrorum assidue obtineauit ueniam
62 delictorum, et ubi nulla subpetunt suffragia meritorum occurrat uobis imploracio illorum. Unde ipse
63 Dominus nobis pium prebet argumentum, cum sanctos suos ad id agendum prouocat, loquens ad apostolos in
64 euangelio, de omni re *quacumque petieritis* super terram fiat uobis a Patre meo qui est in coelis.²⁴ Inter quos
65 uidelicet sanctos iam beatissimus confessor Christi Maglorius cuius *sollemnitate hodierna die*
66 *celebramus*²⁵ luce ineffabili fulget in celestibus. Ex cuius nos siquidem multis quas praecipue agit uirtutibus
67 per pauca earum eloquia ut annuatim eius sanctissima legendo reuoluatur memoria, subsequenti paginola
68 inpolite uelut scintillulam inseruimus.

[The main body of the vita is published by Van Hecke. The chapter numbering is Van Hecke's]

69 1. Magnificae sanctitatis uir domini Maglorius trans maritimas partes oriundus fuit, ducens originem ex
70 Brittanarum stirpe nationum. ‘Maglorius autem’ per interpretationem²⁶ ‘magnus gloria’ dici potest, et merito
71 tali fulget nomine quod [adquisiuit]²⁷ opere. Hausit [autem]²⁸ [speciem]²⁹ carnis ab arce alti sanguinis, cuius
72 spectabilis genitor Umbrafel, mater uero Affrella uocabatur. Praeclare etiam consanguinitatis sancti ac
73 beatissimi Samsonis extitit consors. Qui uterque monachice normam [habitantes]³⁰ religionis. A quodam
74 egregii Germani Autissiodorensis ecclesia praesulis discipulo, nomine Heltuto, tam artium liberalium quam
75 et diuinorum eloquiorum instantissima eruditione fuerunt edocti. Qui, scilicet praesul Germanus
76 commemoratam superius, *Britannorum* nationem ad terebrandam prauis dogmatis hereticorum fallatiam que
77 in ea iam a deo pullulauerat olim expetiit. Testabantur autem ipsi docentes liberos ex patribus & matribus
78 baptizatis procreandos sine baptismi [gratia]³¹ *posse saluari*.³² Cum [Deus]³³ dicat, “*Nisi qui [renatur]*³⁴
79 *fuerit ex aqua & spiritu sancto non potest introire in regnum*” Dei³⁵. Quo praerogatiua catholice fidei errore

²³ ms: comitari.

²⁴ Seems to paraphrase but not quote gospels.

²⁵ Echoes *Vita Maglorii*: 5.c, line 140 and to a lesser extent, 17.b, lines 368-9. Also echoes post-translation miracle II, 54-5.

²⁶ BNF lat. 15436: interpretationis explanationem; BNF lat. 11951: interpretationis

²⁷ BNF lat. 14536: ad quisiuit.

²⁸ M and BNF lat. 11951: etiam.

²⁹ BNF lat. 11951: spetiem.

³⁰ M and BNF lat. 11951: habentes.

³¹ BNF lat. 15436: gratiam.

³² This echoes and to a greater extent paraphrases the *Vita Genovefae* (redaction A), ch. 2. Echoe detected by Poulin, *L'hagiographie bretonne*, pp. 207-8.

³³ M and BNF lat. 11951: Dominus.

³⁴ M and BNF lat. 11951: renatus.

³⁵ John, III, 5. This quotation is taken from the *Vita Genovefae* (A) and identified by Poulin.

80 depresso *ad sedem propriam remeauit*.³⁶ Post cuius abscessum [in processu]³⁷ temporum praemissus Samson
 81 beatissimus pro eo quod semper diuinis cultibus mancipatus summaeque religioni deditus extiterat. A clero
 82 & plebe eiusdem gentis dignus honore acclamatur et ut gregem domini pontificali praelatione regeret ab
 83 omnibus, eligitur atque [coadunato]³⁸ episcoporum comitatu, iuxta sanctorum patrum institutionem, in
 84 archipraesulatus solium sublimis licet inuitus attollitur.

85 **2.** Cum uero iam per gratiam Domini assumpta sarcine pastoralis sollicitudine eidem plebi praeset, uiro
 86 sanctissimo Maglorio, quem moribus honestis, uidelicet ieiuniis, uigiliis et orationibus continuis,
 87 elemosinarum largitatibus immo etiam sanctae castitatis obseruantie insistere cernebat, ad inferendam mense
 88 Domini et ad dispensandam uiuifici corporis et sanguinis eius consecrationem diaconi officium imposuit,
 89 eique pro suae sanctitatis *merito pie deuotionis*³⁹ reuerentiam exhibuit. Super plebem autem suam ad
 90 distribuendam ei, in tempore, uerbi diuini mensuram dispensatorem constituit, cum qua plebe idem confessor
 91 Christi diu pernox existens, innumeris claruit exemplis et documentis insuper et miraculis.

92 **3.a.** Tandem uero percurrentibus quibusdam annis, tactus rore celesti, non inmemor uerborum Domini
 93 dicentis, “*euntes per uniuersum mundum docete omnes gentes baptizantes eos in nomine patris et filii et*
 94 *Spiritu Sancti*”.⁴⁰ Valefaciens plebi suae inde simul cum beato Maglorio et quorundam tam clericorum quam
 95 laicorum collegio, recessit et ad praedicandum populo eiusdem linguae in occidente consistenti mare
 96 transfretauit, properans finibus territorii Dolensis. Ubi a strenuissimo Rege Francorum Childeberto accepto
 97 [iterum]⁴¹ archipraesulatus regimine, non solum inibi uerum etiam in omnem Britannorum regionem seu in
 98 circuitu eius longe lateque [*celebre*]⁴² *nomen eius [inituit]*^{43, 44} ita ut multo plura atque maiora quam prius ut
 99 in gestis eius legitur exerceret miracula. Quid diutius immorari uidemur? Qualia autem quantaue in prioribus
 100 qui trans mare morabantur littoribus et in occiduis residebant populis ipse fecerit, litteraria nequaquam ualent
 101 assertionem comprehendere. His modo [interim omissis]⁴⁵. Ad []⁴⁶ ipsius []⁴⁷ confessoris

Commentary:

102 **3. b.** personam figurate per pauca dicendo *mentis oculos*⁴⁸ retorquere uolumus. Quid enim nomine Samsonis,
 103 nisi ille fortissimus triumphator, de quo psalmista, “*Dominus inquit fortis & potens, Dominus potens in*
 104 *proelio accipitur*”?⁴⁹ Qui superbas sibi aduersantes in passione Iudeos, uelut allophilos non *maxilla bestiae*⁵⁰

³⁶ *Vita Pauli Aureliani* Bk III, ch. 19/61, p. 252.

³⁷ BNF lat. 11951: inprogressu.

³⁸ M only: eo adunato.

³⁹ Appears in numerous hagiographies.

⁴⁰ Matth. 28, 19.

⁴¹ M only: omitted.

⁴² BNF lat. 11951: ‘lebre’.

⁴³ M and BNF lat. 11951: enituit.

⁴⁴ Gregory the Great, *Dialogues*, Bk II, ch. 3.

⁴⁵ M: interim missis; BNF lat. 11951: interim omissis.

⁴⁶ M and BNF lat. 11951: gloriosum.

⁴⁷ M and BNF lat. 11951: sancti.

⁴⁸ Occurs a lot in Martin of Tours and twice in Virgil.

⁴⁹ Psalm 23, vs 8.

⁵⁰ Echoes Judges, 15, 16.

105 sed solo uerbo in terram strauit, qui male [agente]⁵¹ in humano genere saeuientem leonem, non tactu
 106 manuum sed praesentiae suae formidine attriuit et portas inferni dirupit. Et quia per eundem confessorem
 107 quodammodo redemptoris nostri personam designauimus. Nec quid per gentem mare transpositam, cui ipse
 108 primum predicauit, quid per mare, quid etiam per populum in occiduis commorantem, pro quo huius re
 109 gratiam, ad praedicandum mare per transiit significatur nobis adiciendum est? Ut autem iuxta historiam
 110 dicamus quasi Samsonis trans mare genti suae praedicauit cum idem dominus in exortu temporibus filios
 111 Israel, quos in peculiare sibi aduerserat, post transitum maris rubri quem ipsi [secerunt]⁵² per manum Moysi
 112 legis scientia instruxit, quos gentem suam uocauit cum dixit “*Primogenitus meus Israel*”⁵³ et iterum, “*Ego*
 113 *ero illis in patrem & ipsi erunt mihi in filios.*”⁵⁴ Quid autem hoc loco nomine maris quod intumescens in
 114 altum porrigit undas, nisi superba Iudeorum corda quibus aduersus dominum in passione uehementissime
 115 intumescunt exprimuntur? Mare namque, aliquando pro uersuta eiusdem populi rabie in sacro eloquio
 116 ponitur. Male enim idem populus superbiendo se extulit cum contra auctorem uite crucifigendo crucem
 117 mentis erexit, in cuius quidem corde uelut mare fluctuabat. Cum facta inter eos dissensione, plures ex ipsis
 118 suam excipiebant doctrinam, dicentes de eo quia bonus est, quidam uero inuidentes operibus eius reserebant
 119 “*non sed seducit turbas*”.⁵⁵ De quibus Iohannes apostolus ait, “*Exierunt ex nobis sed non erant ex nobis. Si*
 120 *fuissent ex nobis permansissent utique nobiscum.*”⁵⁶ Ut iterum dicam, Samson genti suae trans mare
 121 predicauit, cum idem dominus ante passionem eidem populo, ex quo sicut tuba salutaris euuangelistarum
 122 intonat, multi crediderunt in eum regnum dei predicando et miracula faciendo, magnitudinis suae praesentiam
 123 exhibuit. Predicauit quidem Samson, sed iste amplius, qui in euangelio, memor praedicationis Ione ad
 124 eundem populum de se locutus est dicens, “*Ecce plus quam Jona hic*”.⁵⁷ Ille praedicauit ex accidenti dono,
 125 iste ex scientiali, quod ipse est uerbo, ille ut seruus, iste ut dominus, ille ut homo purus, iste ut homo et uerus
 126 Dominus, de cuius praedicatione Isaias propheta ait, “*in die illa erit germen domini in magnificentia & in*
 127 *gloria,*”⁵⁸ et psalmista “*Notus in Iudea dominus in Israel magnum nomen eius.*”⁵⁹ Genti suae etiam
 128 praedicauit, quia ex eodem populo carnis fragilitate suscepit. Quid est autem, quod Samson post transitum
 129 maris populum domini in occiduis commorantem expetiit, nisi quod dominus post contumelias mortis a
 130 Iudeis sibi ulatas ubique per orbem praedicantibus, sanctis apostolis per lauacrum regenerationis et
 131 renouationis spiritus sancti in multitudinis gentium cordibus requieuit? Unde ipse in passione ait, “*Nisi*
 132 *granum frumenti cadens in terram mortuum fuerit ipsum solum manet. Si autem mortuum fuerit, multum*
 133 *fructum adfert.*”⁶⁰ Que uelut in occiduis morabantur cum per primi hominis preuaricationem⁶¹ suasu
 134 serpentis antiqui sibi [illatam/illatan] idolis sacrificabant et in cecitatem ignorantiae residebant. Hec uero
 135 nec in polite relata, praetermittentes ad gloriosum ipsius sancti confessoris finem redeamus.

⁵¹ Agente only appears in BNF lat, 5283, f. 153r.

⁵² Meaning unclear: possibly the deponent *sequor* conjugated as an active verb.

⁵³ Exodus, 4, 22.

⁵⁴ Vulgate, Cor. II, 6, 18.

⁵⁵ Vulgate, John 7, 12.

⁵⁶ Vulgate, John 2, 19.

⁵⁷ Vulgate, Matt. 12, 41.

⁵⁸ Vulgate, Isiah, 4, 2.

⁵⁹ Vulgate, Psalm 75, vs. 2 (which has *cognoscetur* for *notus*).

⁶⁰ Vulgate, John, XII, 24.

⁶¹ Hincmar, *Vita Remigii*, ch. 7, p. 276, line 42.

136 4. Qui expleto multorum [eius]⁶² annorum curriculo, in quo ei semper Christe uiuere fuit et finis initium
 137 uiuendi dedit, cum iam in lecto decidens *ui februm laborare*⁶³ et *iam uicinam mortem*⁶⁴ sibi adesse, sentiret
 138 longe superius memoratum beatum Maglorium, simul cum fratribus ecclesia sue praecepit sibi aduenire.
 139 Quibus accersitis, *dixit eis dissolutionem sui corporis imminere*⁶⁵ [et]⁶⁶ respiciens ad beatum Maglorium
 140 [coram]⁶⁷ fratribus ait illi, “*Scio, te frater carissime*,⁶⁸ post solutionem carnis meae in hac ecclesia cui huc
 141 usque praefui, pasturare magisterium suscepturum. Ideo tibi suggerere cupio ut in cultu propositoque, sancti
 142 amoris sicut cepisti, magis magisque deinceps inardescere uidearis, ac lumen quod a domino percipere
 143 meruisti, ne iuxta uocem domini ‘*sub modio abscondas, sed super candelabrum [et]*⁶⁹ *ut*’ uideant hi qui *in*
 144 *domo domini sunt* conferas.”⁷⁰ In quo siquidem, ego actenus ipsius domini ordinante pietate pro ut potui
 145 laboraui. Tu autem super caulas dominici gregis iam tibi commissas peruigil et sollicitus esto, ut ab ipso
 146 recompensatore bonorum omnium domino cum eodem in caelestibus merearis audire, “*Unite benedicti*
 147 *patris mei, percipite regnum quod uobis paratum est ante constitutionem mundi.*”⁷¹ Tunc uero sanctus
 148 Maglorius, et omnes qui illic aderant, cum audissent dixisse se e uicino subire mortis dispendium cum
 149 eiulatu et magno fletu, dicebant, “Cur nos pater deseris, ait quare nos derelinquis?” Quibus ipse ait, “Nolite
 150 fratres talia agere, et nolite contristari. Quoniam sicut Helias bonum post se discipulum, uidelicet Heliseum
 151 reliquit⁷², ita et ego uobis ad Deo datum qui a primaueo summae religionis sanctaeque operationis
 152 exhibitionibus illustris fuit, Maglorium superstitem relinquo ministrum.” Post hanc uocem idem in praesentia
 153 omnium sancta sanctorum, sumens coronam iusticiae, quae ei resposita erat []⁷³, ad siderea mundus
 154 [habitacula perexit]⁷⁴, ubi cum Domino sine fine laetatur uicturus.

155 5.a. [QUALITER SANCTUS MAGLORIUS INSERTIS ANGELICIS LITTERIS SCOLASTICIS SIT
 156 DISCIPLINIS ERUDITUS]⁷⁵ Beatissimus igitur Maglorius post excessum gloriosissimi confessoris Christi
 157 Samsonis iuxta sermonem eius, pontificali honore Dolensis ecclesia sublimatus regimen est adeptus. Ubi
 158 eiusdem Christi clementia, qui dat multa et non impropert, et semper bona largitur auxillatus magnarum
 159 uirtutum insignia operatus est. Ut dominus ad discipulos ait, “*Luccat lux vestra coram hominibus, ut uideant*
 160 *[opera uestra bona]*,⁷⁶ *et glorificent patrem uestrum qui in celis est.*”⁷⁷ Quarum huiusmodi rudimenta
 161 fuerant. Cum beatus Maglorius puerili deseruiret aitati, in scola apparentibus traditur erudiendus. Cui celitus

⁶² M and BNF lat. 11951: omitted.

⁶³ Paulinus of Nola, *Epistulae*, Library of Latin Texts A, Letter 5, p. 32; Sulpicius Severus, *Vita Martini* ch. 7; Venantius Fortunatus, *Vita Germani*, ch. 6, p. 376.

⁶⁴ Augustine of Hippo, *De utilitate ieiunii*, Library of Latin Texts A, ch. 10.

⁶⁵ Phrase appears in numerous saints’ *Lives*.

⁶⁶ M only: omitted.

⁶⁷ M: cum; BNF lat. 11951: illeg.

⁶⁸ Caesarius of Arles, *Sermones Caesarii uel ex aliis fontibus hausti*, Library of Latin Texts A, sermon 230, ch. 4.

⁶⁹ BNF lat 11951 only.

⁷⁰ echoes but does not quote Matt 5, 15.

⁷¹ M: (Matthew, 35, 34)

⁷² BNF lat. 11951 ‘reliquid’.

⁷³ M and BNF lat. 11951: percepturus.

⁷⁴ BNF lat. 11951: perexit habitacula.

⁷⁵ M and BNF lat. 11951: omitted.

⁷⁶ BNF lat. 11951 only: *uestra opera bona*.

⁷⁷ Vulgate, Matt. 5, 16, identified by Van Hecke.

162 tanta ad discendum inerat gratia, ut omnes condiscipulos eius, qui ad hanc eruditionem pari uoto parique
 163 affectu residebant. Insertis tabule eius apicibus multimode *capacitatis sensu*⁷⁸ excederet, unde non solum
 164 magistrum, uerum etiam quosdam qui audierant admirantes reddebat. Factum est autem cum quadam die a
 165 magistro lectionem reddere rogatus esset, inuenta est in tabula eius amplior quam ipse descripsisset
 166 litterarum [insertio].⁷⁹ Quam cum idem magister inuenisset, et inde haesitaret [intra]⁸⁰ cordis archana *silentio*
 167 *abscondit*⁸¹ donec experimento didicisset, si ita se res habet an non. Confestim autem tabulam iterum
 168 excipiens, lectionem puero ut antea consueuerat, eodem libramine edidit et ipsam in quodam conclauis clauso
 169 hostio ac diligenter obseruato occultauit. In crastinum autem [illam expetens],⁸² trifariam magis quam ipse
 170 inseruerit, per manum angelicam exarationem repperit. Qui uero cum iam rem sic euidenter digestam
 171 comperisset palam domini (quam reuelari dignum est) uirtutem omnibus euangelizare decreuit. Unde super
 172 hunc puerum, cuncti qui aderant summa alacritate congratulantes multiplices una uoce domino reddiderunt
 173 laudes, qui non solum magnis sed etiam copiosum munus [gratia],⁸³ []⁸⁴ quem etiam succedentibus
 174 temporibus mire sanctitatis habitum adepturum et signa magna facturum, quod postea probauit, euentus
 175 praedixerunt.

Commentary

176 **5.b.** Quis uero hoc loco iste si quaeratur latens scriptor, nisi praestantior scriba doctus in regno celorum, qui
 177 lapideas olim digito suo conscripsit tabulas, accipitur? Ibi uero in petra littere, hic uero in cera expressae
 178 legunt, quod non ab re creditur ita contigisse. Quid autem per elementa *in tabulis lapideis*⁸⁵ adfixa
 179 amantissimo domini Moysi collata, nisi *dura* priscae legis *mandata*,⁸⁶ quae ultionem pro ultione et insuper
 180 mortis sententiam inserre iubent ostenduntur? Quid per litterarum in cera, assertionem beato Maglorio
 181 attributan[tur?], nisi melliflua sancti euuangelii gratia exprimit? Que quando illa sub ditos *asperimae*
 182 *inuectionis*⁸⁷ admonitione terrent, tanto amplius ista cum non solum pro amicitis sed etiam pro inimicis ex
 183 corde efflagitare commendat *pie demulcet*⁸⁸. Ex utrisque enim, Dominus in euuangelio loquens ad discipulos
 184 ait, “*audisti quia dictum est antiuis diligens amicum tuum & odio habebis inimicum tuum,*”⁸⁹ ubi addidit
 185 dicens, “*ego autem dico uobis, diligite inimicos uestros benefacite his qui oderunt uos, & orate pro*
 186 *persequentibus & calumniantibus uos, ut sitis filii patris uestri, qui in caelis est*”.⁹⁰ Hinc namque apostolus

⁷⁸ Alcuin, *Epistolae*, MGH_Epp. 4, Epist. 144, p. 229, line 13; Bede, *In proueria Salomonis*, Library of Latin Texts A, Bk II 2, ch. 13, line 136; Augustine of Hippo, *De musica*, Library of Latin Texts A, ch. 1, col. 1100, line 10.

⁷⁹ BNF lat. 15436: assertio.

⁸⁰ M: inter; BNF lat. 11951 abbrev, unclear.

⁸¹ Occurs repeatedly in Bede and Gregory the Great.

⁸² M and BNF lat. 11951: repetens illam.

⁸³ BNF lat. 11951: gratie.

⁸⁴ M and BNF lat. 11951: suæ impertiri dignatur parvulis.

⁸⁵ Vulgate, Deut. 4, 13.

⁸⁶ Kerlouégan, ‘Une mode stylistique’, p. 287, identifies this as a typically Insular Latin structure: substantive, epithet, substantive, epithet.

⁸⁷ Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Job*, Library of Latin Texts A, Bk 6, par. 1, line 26; Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Job*, Library of Latin Texts A 143; Gregory the Great, *Homily on the Gospels*, Library of Latin Texts A, Bk I, homily 6, par. 4, p. 41, line: 78; Bede *In Lucae euangelium exposition*, Library of Latin Texts A, Bk II, ch. 7, line 2412; Bede, *De templo libri I*, Library of Latin texts, Bk II, line 963; Bede, *In Marci euangelium exposition*, Library of Latin Texts A Bk I, ch. 1, line 158.

⁸⁸ Bede, *Vita sancti Cuthberti* (BHL 2021) Library of Latin Texts A, ch. 1, p. 158, line 3.

⁸⁹ Vulgate, Matt. 5, 43.

⁹⁰ Vulgate, Matt. 5, 44.

187 ait, “*littera namque occidit, spiritus autem uiuifica*”.⁹¹ Scriptura namque tribus digitis efficitur, scriptore
 188 uero superius Dominum designauimus, de ipso quoque Eisaia propheta ait, “*quis appendit tribus digitis*
 189 *molem terrae, & librauit in pondere montes & colles instatera?*”⁹² Ipse est “*qui numerat multitudinem*
 190 *stellarum,*”⁹³ et in euuangleio ad quosdam ait, “*si in digito Dei, eicio demonia, profecto peruenit in uos*
 191 *regnum dei,*”⁹⁴ ut paulisper ad superiora redeamus. Sanctissimus quoque, quem super memorauimus, Moyses
 192 in petra a domino litteras percepit, quia iam per hanc Iudeorum qui circa redemptiorem nostrum in fine
 193 saeculi uehementissime saeuierunt, et eiusdem legis scientiam habuerunt, acerrima praefigurabatur mentis
 194 obduratio. Beato quoque Maglorio illiquescente cera tradiat sunt elementa, quia *gentilium corda*⁹⁵, quae olim
 195 iam *pades*⁹⁶ prodiis colebant, iam per dulcia sancti euuangelii uerba, accepto liquore sancti baptismatis in
 196 amorem eiusdem redemptoris, quem ipsi negauerant ad seruiendum sibi reuo [stuta?] erant. Hinc est enim
 197 quod sancta ad ipsum loquens canit ecclesia, “*Trahe me post te, curremus in odorem unguentorum tuorum.*”⁹⁷
 198 Illae uero in caligine nubis datae sunt litterae, quia ueteris testamenti spiritalis intellectus usque ad aduentum
 199 domini, sub tegmine historiae latuit. Isti namque in quondam, ut longe superius diximus, tecto, quia *clausis*
 200 *ianuis dominus post resurrectionem*⁹⁸ ad discipulos introiens aperuit, illis sensum ut intelligerent scripturas.
 201 Unde ipse ait, “*Nihil opertum quod non reuelabitur & nihil oculum quod non sciatur. Quod dico uobis in*
 202 *tenebris dicite in lumine, et quod in aure auditis praedicare super tecta.*”⁹⁹ Ille uero quae facienda, et quae
 203 uentura erant edidit, iste uero quae nunc adimpleta et quae per allegorie discussionem uidelicet *diuinorum*
 204 *eloquiorum archana,*¹⁰⁰ quae etiam quondam occultata erant a sanctis patribus pate facta sunt, quadam
 205 signifationis sue eruditionis, a bono magistro domino sibi collata nobis exhibuit.

206 **5.c.** Ad cuius sanctissimi confessoris merita modo mentem reuoluentes totis praecordiorum nisibus eius
 207 gloriosam recolamus hodie solempnitatem ac piis precibus patrocina imploremus, quia a deo dignus est
 208 uenerari laudarique, qui talem ac tantum meruit habere praeceptorum et magistrum.

209 **6.** [QUALITER IUBENTE ANGELO A SEDE PROPRIA RECESSIT ET IN QUANDAM INSULAM
 210 MARIS VITAM HEREMITICUM DUXIT]¹⁰¹ Cum igitur gloriosus confessor Christi Maglorius summe
 211 deuotionis certamine sublimen archiepiscopi obtimeret arcem in qua, ut praemissum est, spectabilibus
 212 documentis simul ut exemplis insuper et uirtutibus luculentus enitesceret. Nocte *quadam angelus domini in*
 213 *somnis apparuit ei dicens,*¹⁰² “actenus quidem Maglori, ad regendum gregem domini sub episcopatus

⁹¹ Vulgate, Cor 2.3.

⁹² Vulgate, Isaiah 40, 12.

⁹³ Vulgate, Psalm 146 vs 3.

⁹⁴ Vulgate, Luke, 11, 20.

⁹⁵ Gregory the Great and Bede.

⁹⁶ *Padus* is a rare, Gaulish word for pine tree used in Pliny’s *Natural History*: Jacques André ‘Noms de plantes gaulois ou prétendus Gaulois dans les textes Grecs et Latins’, *Etudes Celtiques* 22 (1986), pp. 179–98. The worship of pines also appears in Sulpicius Severus *Vita Martini*, see: Burton, *Vita Martini*, ch. 13, pp. 108-111.

⁹⁷ Songs of Solomon, 1, 3.

⁹⁸ Alcuin, *Commentaria in sancti Iohannis Euangelium*, Library of Latin Texts A, *Letter to Gisela and Rodtrude*, col.992, line 10.

⁹⁹ Matt., 10, 26.

¹⁰⁰ Bede, *In primam partem Samuhelis*, Library of Latin Texts A, Bk II, ch. 14, line 2066.

¹⁰¹ M and BNF lat. 11951: omitted

¹⁰² Matt. 1, 20.

214 regimine publica habitatione conuersatus [es].¹⁰³ Nunc autem ut simplici oculo totum corpus tuum [lucidi]¹⁰⁴
 215 existens, indefessas domini laudes licentius celebrare queas, hin egredere et ad quaedam [remuneratoris]¹⁰⁵
 216 loci latibula solitariam [ducens uitam]¹⁰⁶ proficiscere.” [Admirans autem ant?]¹⁰⁷ uisionem confessor Christi
 217 []¹⁰⁸ a somno expergefactus¹⁰⁹ dixit, “Gratis tibi ago Domine, qui per salutaria sancti [euuangelii]¹¹⁰ tui
 218 affamina ea, quae []¹¹¹ ante aestuanti desiderio mente optaueram ut [exercere decertarem opere]¹¹² indigno
 219 seruo tuo pietatis tuae suggestione notum, facere dignatus es.”

220 7. Protinus autem cui ad alendos sibi olim commissos [reliquisset]¹¹³ greges, quasque ad commorandum ut
 221 uerbis angelicis didicerat, partes [elegisset]¹¹⁴. Tacite, in radice cordis indagare cepit, inter quae cum exinde
 222 hesitaret, memorie tradidit, quod in quandam terra quam aliquando Rex [Iudigualus]¹¹⁵ in augmentum
 223 episcopatus sui dederat, commoratio eius fieri posset. His autem taliter apud se recensitis, non multo post,
 224 quendam uirum nomine Budocum, quem a primaevae atatis rudimentis sanctae et religiose secum uiuere
 225 cognouit, in ordine uicis suae Dolensis ecclesiae episcopum consecrauit. []¹¹⁶

226 8. Quo huic ecclesiae in pastorem mancipato, [ad]¹¹⁷ terram superius commemoratam, quam idem sanctus
 227 Maglorius disposuerat, *tam clero quam plebi*¹¹⁸ ualefaciens expetere agonizauit, in cuius abscessu quantus
 228 luctus omnium quanta uox plagentium, inibi extitit, impossibile est lingua enarrari. Quam ingressus, in diuini
 229 amoris cultibus, uidelicet creberrimis ieiuniorum uigiliarumque atque orationum exhibitionibus, in tantum
 230 *feruentius exarsit*¹¹⁹, ut uelut aliquantisper spiritum exhalaret, et ab aliquo ipsum auditu auris uix capi posset.
 231 Quoniam quidem cum fama [eius]¹²⁰ huc illucque peragrans crebresceret, nonnulli ex diuersis regionibus
 232 diuersos languores habentes, scilicet ceci, claudi, leprosi et a demonibus obsessi, ut sanarentur ad eum
 233 confluebant. Multi namque, ut audirent sapientiam eius, qua *salutis suae medicamina*¹²¹ adipisci possent, eius
 234 praesentiam inuisere [plaudebant]¹²². [Plerisque]¹²³ etiam non minima thesaurorum munuscula, uidelicet auri

¹⁰³ M: omitted; BNF lat. 11951 illeg.

¹⁰⁴ M and BNF lat. 11951: lucidum.

¹⁰⁵ M and BNF lat. 11951: remotioris.

¹⁰⁶ BNF lat. 11951: ducens uitam.

¹⁰⁷ M and BNF lat. 11951: Hunc uero locum, in quo hactenus *bonum certamen certasti* (various - Augustine or Hippo, and Vita Fursei) et gregi dominico prodesse studuisti, gloriae sancti Samsonis praedecessoris tui scito esse a Deo destinatum. Tibi autem omnipotens Deus tuus specialiter alium praeparauit locum, in quo oves proprias sub monachica religione pastor bonus gubernans, innumeris uirtutibus sublimari mereberis. [M: Mane * igitur/BNF lat. 11951: mane quo in].

¹⁰⁸ M and BNF lat. 11951: ualde admirans.

¹⁰⁹ VPS and VSS, p. 86, 1 and p. 105, 6 respectively.

¹¹⁰ M and BNF lat. 11951: Angeli.

¹¹¹ M and BNF lat. 11951: longe.

¹¹² BNF lat. 11951: opere exercere decertarem.

¹¹³ M only: relinqueret.

¹¹⁴ M only: eligeret.

¹¹⁵ M and BNF lat. 11951: Raddualus.

¹¹⁶ M only: [secedit in solitudinem, ubi plures eum uisitant;].

¹¹⁷ M and BNF lat 11951: omitted.

¹¹⁸ Gregory the Great, *Registrum epistolarum*, eMGH, Epp. 1, Ind. IX, Epist. 1, 8, p. 10, line. 12.

¹¹⁹ Venantius Fortunatus, *Carmina*, eMGH, Auct. ant. 4, 1, Bk. I, ch. 21, p. 24, v. 11.

¹²⁰ M and BNF lat 11951: ejusdem sancti uiri.

¹²¹ Vulgate, Kings III, 10, 24.

¹²² M and BNF lat 11951: applaudebant.

¹²³ M and BNF lat 11951: Plerique.

235 argentique et cetera donaria ac *si pro gratiarum actione*¹²⁴ illi offerebant. Sed idem *uelut stercorea*¹²⁵ parui
236 pendens indigentibus uiduis, orfanis, captiuis, penuria famis laborantibus, confestim erogabat.

237 **9.** Cum autem in his omnis perseuerarent [negotiis et]¹²⁶ donariis, et immensus circumuallaret eum concursus
238 populorum, cepit contristari, dicens sibi, “Uae mihi, quid profuit propria deserere et aliena [potere]¹²⁷, ubi
239 multo magis inest¹²⁸ plebei tegminis coadunatio et inmanissima diuitiarum redundat amplificatio? Cum
240 [uero]¹²⁹ dudum a mundi huius desiderus arbitrarer expoliari, his magis nunc incipio uestiri. [Qui]¹³⁰ cum
241 [esset]¹³¹ expers terrenarum rerum []¹³² prodolor diues factus sum.” Qui cum talia secum reuolueret et ingenti
242 coartaretur anxietate. Menti eius accidit, ut praedictum quem ordinauit episcopum, suae iuberet aduenire
243 praesentiae, ad quem mox legatum direxit. Qui, uidelicet episcopus iam dictus, *ruptis horarum morulis*,
244 *celerrime*¹³³ occurrit ei. Cui beatus Maglorius irrigata facie lacrimis [qualia]¹³⁴ et quanta a multitudine uulgi
245 perpessus est retulit, ubi statim addidit, “pro certo noueris, me hinc in promptu egressurum, et ad locum ubi
246 nulla existunt hominis iudicia profecturum.” Quem idem episcopus uehementer cercens mesticiae dari, ad
247 *excipiendam doloris*¹³⁵ eius compassionem quoddam protaxit silentium.

248 **10.** []¹³⁶ Sed interposito quodam horarum [circulo]¹³⁷ dulci iam cum illo coepit fari colloquio. “Scio,”
249 inquit “domine, [quod hoc]¹³⁸ confluentium ad te populorum excitationem, qui pro spe salutis a mercede
250 tua exposcunt suffragia, ualida te[m?]¹³⁹ labefactari fatigatione. Audiui enim quod tibi uelle adiacet, hinc
251 recedere et abrupta expetere, uerum si id exsequi agonizaueris pater, ualde cauendum est, nedum spiritualis
252 alimonie pauperibus Christi qua illis uiuere [et]¹⁴⁰ triticum subtraxeris cuiuslibet incidat¹⁴¹ laqueos
253 discriminis. Melius []¹⁴² oues domini colligere quam dispergere. Melius est *contritos corde sanare*¹⁴³, quam
254 infirmos relinquere. Olim uero in propriam laborasti messem, nunc autem in alienam et copiosam id exercere
255 ut bonus pastor decernis, ut ad horreum Christi utrasque tecum perducas, et his dupplicia possideas, In quo
256 ipsius Christi inimitator factus es, qui plebi suae, scilicet Iudaico populo, per se primum et postmodum per
257 apostolos gentibus doctrinam inseruit. Horum siquidem populorum molestias circa te exagitatas, perspicere

¹²⁴ Vulgate Lev. 7, 11.

¹²⁵ Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Job*, Bk XV, par. 4, line 13. This echoes: Vulgate, Philip. 3, 8.

¹²⁶ M and BNF lat. 11951: omitted.

¹²⁷ M and BNF lat. 11951: petere.

¹²⁸ M only: me.

¹²⁹ M and BNF lat. 11951: enim.

¹³⁰ M and BNF lat. 11951: Et.

¹³¹ M and BNF lat. 11951: essem.

¹³² M only: expers.

¹³³ *Vita s. Chlodoualdi*, eMGH, SS rer. Merov. 2, ch. 5, p. 353, line 22.

¹³⁴ M only: qualis.

¹³⁵ Cicero, *Tusculanae disputationes*, Library of Latin Texts A, Bk II, ch. 5, par. 14, p. 286, line 25.

¹³⁶ M only: [a S. Budoco salutis proximi vacare suadetur;].

¹³⁷ M and BNF lat. 11951: curriculo.

¹³⁸ BNF lat. 11951: ob.

¹³⁹ BNF lat. 11951: te.

¹⁴⁰ M and BNF lat. 11951: est.

¹⁴¹ M and BNF lat. 11951: incidas.

¹⁴² M and BNF lat. 11951: enim est.

¹⁴³ Luke 4, 18.

258 debes onus leve,¹⁴⁴ quod etiam recompensabitur tibi in magna retributione, quod, ut te minime latet, ipse
 259 Christus Dominus noster, dum in sinu Patris quiesceret, huic mundo ad sanandum infirmorum languores se
 260 contulit, unde ipse ait, “*Non egent qui sani sunt medico, sed qui male habent*”.¹⁴⁵ Quos etiam non refugit,
 261 [sed clementer animam suam dare]¹⁴⁶ pro eis censuit. Hinc namque idem in quodam evangelio ex libro Isaiaë
 262 de se ipso ait, “*Spiritus Domini super me, eo quod unxit me, evangelizare pauperibus, misit me, sanare*
 263 *contritos corde, prædicare captivis remissionem, cæcis visum, dimittere contractos in remissionem,*
 264 *prædicare annum Domini acceptum et diem retributionis.*”¹⁴⁷ Cuius Sanctus Domini Maglorius hæc
 265 saluberrima [obediuit]¹⁴⁸ monita, verborum Domini recordatus, quibus ad Apostolos ait, “*Qui vos audit, me*
 266 *audit, et qui vos pernit*¹⁴⁹, *me spernit.*¹⁵⁰

267 **11. DE QUODAM COMITE, NOMINE LOESCONI QUEM A MORBIDA UALDE LEBRA MUNDAVIT**
 268 SUIS PRECIBUS Factum est autem [quod]¹⁵¹ non post multum temporis jam se predicto episcopo ad propria
 269 reverso, quidam comes nomine Loiescon, valde divitiarum opibus obsitus, sed septenis annis leprosus, qui¹⁵²
 270 multam in medicos erogaverat substantiam, sed a nullo potuit curari, qui etiam in quandam¹⁵³ insulam *in sinu*
 271 *maris*¹⁵⁴ sitam degens, cum celeberrimam sanctissimi¹⁵⁵ Maglorii [famam audivit]¹⁵⁶, huc illucque longe
 272 diffusam, cum quibusdam sibi assistentibus supplex ad eum uenit, et tu mentem exhibens uulnerum suorum
 273 putredinem, qua grauiter detinebatur, procidit¹⁵⁷ ad pedes ejus efflagitans, ut sui misereretur. Quem intuens
 274 ait, “quid quæris, aut *quæ est petitio tua*¹⁵⁸ veniendi ad me¹⁵⁹?” Respondit ei languidus, “ut sacris precum
 275 tuarum auxiliis fretus, a lebra quam vides, mundari merear.” Ait autem Sanctus Maglorius, “*Quomodo potest*
 276 *fieri*¹⁶⁰, cum¹⁶¹ sim [inmundus corpore],¹⁶² [inmundus ut mundum curari ualeat]¹⁶³?” Tunc vero triduanum
 277 Beatus Maglorius ei indixit jejunium, quod ipse cum quibusdam sacerdotibus et levitis pariter et devotis
 278 viris, Christo Domino consuete famulantibus, pie exercuit. Quo peracto, cum letaniarum obsecratione, in
 279 balnearium dolium, jussit inponi.¹⁶⁴ Super quem manus imponens, elevatis [in cælum oculis],¹⁶⁵ dixit.
 280 “Domine Jesu Christe per quem omnia creata sunt, qui Naaman per prophetam in Jordanis flumine a lebra¹⁶⁶

¹⁴⁴ Mabillon identifies this as a quotation from Matt. 9, 12. This seems to be an error, since Matt. 9, 12 paraphrases Luke 5, 31, which is quoted a few lines later.

¹⁴⁵ Luke 5, 31.

¹⁴⁶ M and BNF lat. 11951: sed clementer dare animam suam.

¹⁴⁷ Luke 4, 18.

¹⁴⁸ M and BNF lat. 11951: libenter obaudivit.

¹⁴⁹ M and BNF lat. 11951: spernit.

¹⁵⁰ Luke 10. 16. Qui vos audit, me audit; Benedict of Nursia, *Regula*, Library of Latin Texts A, ch. 5.

¹⁵¹ M and BNF lat. 11951: omitted.

¹⁵² M and BNF lat. 11951: et qui.

¹⁵³ M only: quamdam.

¹⁵⁴ Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*, Library of Latin Texts, A_SChr 489, Bk 1, ch. 33, par. 2, p. 260, line 1.

¹⁵⁵ M and BNF lat. 11951: sanctissimi viri.

¹⁵⁶ M and BNF lat. 11951: audivit famam.

¹⁵⁷ M and BNF lat. 11951: procidens.

¹⁵⁸ Esther, 5, 3.

¹⁵⁹ M and BNF lat. 11951: veniendi ad me petitio tua.

¹⁶⁰ Phrase appears repeatedly in the work of Caesarius of Arles.

¹⁶¹ M only: ut cum.

¹⁶² M and BNF lat. 11951: immundus mente et tu immundus corpore.

¹⁶³ M and BNF lat. 11951: immundum curare valeam.

¹⁶⁴ M only: imponi.

¹⁶⁵ M and BNF lat. 11951: oculis in cælum.

¹⁶⁶ M and BNF lat. 11951: lepra.

281 sua mundasti, et pro peccatoribus salvandis, a supernis ad infima descendisti, qui etiam in fine sæculi in
 282 prædicto flumine Jordanis, generis humani crimina per baptismi tui lavacrum, contrito inibi hostis antiqui
 283 capite, diluisti, et Mariæ Magdalenæ facinora misericorditer amputasti, non *in iustificationibus nostris sed in*
 284 *miserationibus tuis multis*,¹⁶⁷ precor Domine, ut hunc hominem, qui ad clementiam tuam exquirens me venit,
 285 *ad laudem et gloriam nominis tui*¹⁶⁸ digneris a lepra quam habet mundare, ut omnes qui viderint glorificent te
 286 [qui uiuis et regnas, cum domino patre et spiritu sancto, per infinita saecula saeculorum [amen]].”¹⁶⁹¹⁷⁰ His
 287 dictis, Beato Maglorio manu totum corpus eius tangente, non solum lepra ab eo recessit, uerum etiam nec
 288 cicatrix in eo usque apparuit, sed facta est caro eius sicut caro paruuli. Quanta igitur de hac celerrima et
 289 admiranda emundatione dixerunt,¹⁷¹ qui uiderunt et audierunt, *non est nostræ facultatis euoluere*.¹⁷² [Cui
 290 dominus tantam contulit gratiam ut non solum homines, sed etiam aues caeli et pices maris, eius obediebant
 291 imperio ita ut ipse ibat ibant.]¹⁷³

292 **12.** Post hujus [namque]¹⁷⁴ lepræ emundationem, prædictus comes Loiescon Sancti Maglorii pedibus
 293 prouolutus, laudes de tanto munere percepto lacrimabili affectu Domino ipsique retulit. Erat autem idem
 294 comes, ut superius dictum est, copiosarum rerum, uidelicet auri et argenti, seruatorum [etiam]¹⁷⁵ et ancillarum,
 295 iumentorum quoque ac diuorsorum pecorum uinearumque insuper et optimarum terrarum possessionibus
 296 locupletatus. Cujus uero terrarum magnitudo, in quibusdam locis sparsim sita [est]¹⁷⁶ triplici continebatur
 297 divisione. Quarum utique unam scilicet divisionem non integram, sed dimidiam, idem comes Beato Maglorio
 298 in munere contulit, quam beatus confessor excipere, et suo [subdere dominio]¹⁷⁷ non respuit. Has etiam
 299 terrarum diuisiones, multitudo copiosa auium, quæ miræ magnitudinis et pulchræ erant, consue-
 300 frequentabant. Captura quoque piscium ingens, in sinum¹⁷⁸ maris econtra uehementissime pullullabat.
 301 Contigit autem cum Beatus Maglorius suæ medietatis, quam comes ei dederat, portionem penetrasset,
 302 omnis¹⁷⁹ auium simulque piscium congeries, quæ alteri inerat medietati comitis, uelut perterrita expavit, et
 303 fugam iniit, partemque Sancti Maglorii, ipsius præsentiae acsi dominio suo debitæ seruitutis obsequium,
 304 præstans expetiit. Quam rem uxor ejusdem comitis graviter ferens, suasit ei, ut illam sibi excipiendo
 305 vindicaret, et quam utroque genere orbatam tenebat, Beato Maglorio erogaret, Cujus nequam suggestionem
 306 maritus confestim suscipiens, quod non debuit explere decreuit. Facta autem hac nefandæ commutationis
 307 controversia subito eadem medietas terræ comitis, quam auare a Sancto Maglorio subripuerat, aibus pariter
 308 et piscibus aliena facta est. Qui omnes infinitæ multitudinis prædicti generis uelut mutuatum inito consilio,

¹⁶⁷ Daniel, 9, 18.

¹⁶⁸ Various sacramentaries.

¹⁶⁹ ‘Amen’ written in Greek characters in ms.

¹⁷⁰ M and BNF lat. 11951: omitted.

¹⁷¹ M: dixerint; BNF lat. 11951 illeg.

¹⁷² Sulpicius Severus, *Vita Martini*, ch. 10, par. 1.

¹⁷³ M and BNF lat. 11951: omitted.

¹⁷⁴ M and BNF lat. 11951: omitted.

¹⁷⁵ M and BNF lat. 11951: omitted.

¹⁷⁶ BNF lat. 11951: omitted.

¹⁷⁷ M and BNF lat. 11951: dominio subdere.

¹⁷⁸ M: sinu; BNF lat. 11951 unclear – sinum?.

¹⁷⁹ M only: omnia.

309 mox ad dominum suum Maglorium reversi sunt. Qua de re isdem¹⁸⁰ comes apud se¹⁸¹ taliter egisset
 310 pœnitentia ductus, utramque terram perpetuam habendam, id est medietatem, quam tenebat et quam dederat
 311 Sancto Maglorio concessit. Qua sibi inlata¹⁸², auium et piscium *agmina omnem*¹⁸³ utriusque partis terram
 312 sicuti antea consueuerunt, repleuerunt. Quæ res sic digesta, non solum his qui circa mare morabantur uerum
 313 etiam in diuturnis terrarum spatiis, in admiratione suscepta innotuit.

314 **13.** In quo siquidem loco idem uir beatissimus Maglorius sub sanctæ conversationis habitu, quam velut
 315 thesauros absconditos in animo gerebat, semperque ad exemplum hominum foras exhibebat, degens,
 316 ecclesiam ædificavit. Ibi que [LX II collegium monachorum]¹⁸⁴, quos uitæ suæ eruditione instruxit ad
 317 explendum Deo sanctisque, ejus debitæ servitutis [sic: ms servitutis] officium collocauit. Ubi etiam qualia
 318 quantaue, ut superius relata sunt fecerit et docuerit, *quibus uirtutibus enituerit*¹⁸⁵ non humana comprehensio
 319 sed, qui micantes stellas numerat nouit. De cuius [namque]¹⁸⁶ sanctissima conuersatione quiddam breuiter
 320 [hinc]¹⁸⁷ intermiscere uolumus. In primo omnium non solum in eo summæ castitatis, sed etiam uirginitatis ab
 321 utero matris lumen refulsit. Panem quoque [hordeaceum]¹⁸⁸, et quæ uiliora sunt leguminis etiam *parce in*
 322 *cibum*¹⁸⁹ sumpsit. In *quarta autem feria et sexta*¹⁹⁰ ab omnium ciborum pabulo extitit alienus. Quam
 323 obseruationem ieiunii in quarta feria expleuit, eo quod in ea sacrilegi [ut]¹⁹¹ rei facti Iudæi sanguineum, ut
 324 auctorem suum *Dominum morti traderent*¹⁹², pactum statuerunt. Sexta []¹⁹³ feria, quia id quod []¹⁹⁴ corde
 325 conceperant [ipsum cruci affigentes, in hac]¹⁹⁵ opere compleuerunt. Corpus uero eius iugiter cilicio
 326 tegebatur. Uestimentis quoque aforis nec multimodis uilibus, nec pretiosis, sed mediocribus [ne forte
 327 humanarum laudum *blandiretur fomentis*¹⁹⁶, quod est muscipula æternæ damnationis, induebatur.]

328 **14.** [Postquam autem per angelicam suggestionem ab arce propriæ sedis suæ, uidelicet Dolensis Ecclesiæ,
 329 digressus loca deserta requisit, [nec uinum nec siceram bibit].¹⁹⁷ Perpaucis denique pisciculis tantum in
 330 sacris [sollempnus]¹⁹⁸, quos pro egregiis reputabat deliciis, coactus a religiosis Deum uita contemplantibus
 331 monachis utebatur. Excubias autem noctis, cum fratres se sopori darent, clandestina remotione ab eis
 332 sequestratus, *super crepidinem aluei*¹⁹⁹ maris usque ad matutinarum celebrationem peruigil atque in somnis

¹⁸⁰ M and BNF lat. 11951: idem.

¹⁸¹ M and BNF lat. 11951: se eo quod.

¹⁸² M and BNF lat. 11951: collata.

¹⁸³ Virgil, *Epitome*, Library of Latin texts, vol. 18, Library of Latin Texts B, ch. 7, p. 50, line 3.

¹⁸⁴ M and BNF lat. 11951: monachorum sexaginta duorum collegium.

¹⁸⁵ Wrmonoc, *Vitae Pauli*, p. 436, Bk 1, ch. 10, 32, line 14, p. 232.

¹⁸⁶ M and BNF lat. 11951: omitted.

¹⁸⁷ M and BNF lat. 11951: omitted.

¹⁸⁸ A rare word for barley, used by Augustine of Hippo. BNF lat. 11951: ordeaceum.

¹⁸⁹ Gregory of Tours, *Liber vitae patrum*, eMGH_SS rer. Merov. 1, 2, ch. 14, (p. 718), p. 268, line 8.

¹⁹⁰ Amalarius, *Epistolae*, eMGH Epp. 5, Epist. 6, p. 255, line 2.

¹⁹¹ M and BNF lat. 11951: et.

¹⁹² Bede, *Retractatio in Actus apostolorum* Library of Latin Texts A, ch. 4, line 38; Bede, *Expositio actuum apostolorum*, Library of Latin Texts A, ch. 1, line 200.

¹⁹³ M and BNF lat. 11951: autem.

¹⁹⁴ M and BNF lat. 11951: de.

¹⁹⁵ M and and BNF lat. 11951 only.

¹⁹⁶ Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Job*, Library of Latin Texts A SL 143A, Bk XV, par. 10, line 9.

¹⁹⁷ Hraban Maur, *De institutione clericorum*, Library of Latin Texts A Bk II, ch. 25, vol. 2, p. 300, line 6.

¹⁹⁸ M and BNF lat. 11951: solemniss.

¹⁹⁹ Wrmonoc, *Vita Pauli*, Bk I, ch. 10/31, line 7.

333 ducebat. Hospitalitatis receptionem *non solum indigentibus*²⁰⁰, uerum etiam aliis quamplurimis, qui huius rei
 334 necessitate ad se uenerant, ut scriptum est: “*hilarem enim datorem diligit Deus, ultro exhibebat*”.²⁰¹ Quid
 335 diutius [hinc]²⁰² immorari uideamur²⁰³? Omnes quas uas electionis Paulus Apostolus uirtutes enumerat, ei
 336 adhibitæ videbantur. Quod est []²⁰⁴ gaudium, pax, [caritas]²⁰⁵, patientia, longanimitas, bonitas, benignitas,
 337 fides, modestia, continentia, []²⁰⁶ ut dictum est, castitas.

²⁰⁰ Gregory the Great, *Registrum epistularum*, Library of Latin Texts A_SL 140, Bk V, ep. 30, line 10.

²⁰¹ Cor. II 9, 7.

²⁰² M and BNF lat. 11951: omitted.

²⁰³ M and BNF lat. 11951: videmur.

²⁰⁴ M and BNF lat. 11951: caritas.

²⁰⁵ M and BNF lat. 11951: omitted.

²⁰⁶ M and BNF lat. 11951: et.

*Miracula**Miracula after the Vita*

1 1. [V15] [IN PREDICTO AUTEM HEREMO, COMEMORANS, QUENDAM MORTUUM A MARIS
 2 ALVO ABSORTUM RESUSCITAVIT] Libet adhuc de quibusdam uirtutum suarum excepta eius admirabili
 3 uita quas superius comemoratis addidit, hoc loco summam aliquid perstringere. Quadam uero die cum ab
 4 aliquibus seruiantibus. sibi famulis ad refocillanda monachorum quodammodo piscibus corpora in mari
 5 diluculo retia mitterentur, contigit ut unus ex his casu repentino ab eodem absorberetur. Cuius mors uiolenta
 6 beatum uirum minime latuit, qui mox flens et eiulans se reum huius hominis affirmavit, esse mortis. Unde
 7 indifessis¹ tota die efflagitationibus conglobatis sibi monachis in ecclesia coram sancto altari se obiciens,
 8 clamavit ad dominum ut [ne]² super interitum praecipitati *irasceret furor*³ eius contra eum. Ad
 9 uesperascente []⁴ die cum []⁵ *sol ad occasum occubisset*⁶, adhibitis sibi eisdem monachis, cum psalmodum
 10 letaniarumque decantationibus, litus maris econtra expetiit, *terreque se strauit*⁷, et profusis lacrimis in celum
 11 respexit, et ut uel mortuum torrens, inundans [sibi maris]⁸ redderet, clementiam domini perportavit. Qua
 12 oratione expleta, mare tumidum quem deglutierat, et ante morti infixum tenuerat, iam iubente domino
 13 precibus sancti confessoris ad littora more Ionae prophetae hominem euomuit uiuum, super quem scilicet
 14 rediuiuum dum iam domini gratiam sibi adesse, et quia *non est aspernatus*⁹ preces eius cognouit sacra exinde
 15 *diuini muneris libamina*¹⁰ domino obtulit et quod deinceps pro lapsu olim mortui nullo piscium genimine
 16 degustaret, uotum ei uouere censuit.

17 2. [V16] DE PISCIBUS QUORUM NUMERUS IUXTA OPORTUNITATEM SUMENTIUM UNO
 18 EORUMQUE UT INSEQUENTIBUS LEGITUR ADMINISTRANTE AD MENSAM DEFEREBATUR
 19 Sancto BEATI MAGLORII NESERIBAT?¹¹ [Post secuta]¹² autem [dies xii]¹³, reuolutione cum more solito
 20 nocturnis temporibus sacras uigilias celebraret, iterum angelus domini apparuit ei dicens, “Pisciculis quos
 21 antea esse consuescebas quosque, uoto abiecasti, per paucis uescere.” Ubi quoque addidit, “Spiritus ceteris
 22 argumentis, quibus genus piscum, irretiri dinoscitur, cuidam ex famulis tuis praecipe ut altum mare adeat
 23 primumque piscem quem inuenerit tollat, et caudae eius pennulas ferro abscondat. Hamum quoque manu

¹ correct spelling: indifessis.

² M only: non.

³ Psalm 123,3.

⁴ M and BNF lat. 11951: autem.

⁵ M and BNF lat. 11951: iam.

⁶ Bede, *De temporum ratione liber*, Library of Latin Texts A, ch. 25, line 30.

⁷ Gregory the Great, *Dialogues Bk IV (Excerpta)*, eMGH_SS rer. Lang. Bk. III, ch. 37, p. 538, line 4.

⁸ BNF lat. 11951: maris sibi.

⁹ Cicero, *Pro A. Cluentio Habito oratio*, Library of Latin Texts A, par. 47, p. 60, line 15; Augustine of Hippo, *Contra Julianum opus imperfectum*, Library of Latin Texts A, Bk II, par. 171 (argumentum Juliani), p. 290, line 11; Augustine of Hippo, *Contra Faustum*, Library of Latin Texts A, Bk XVI par. 33, p. 482, line 10.

¹⁰ Alcuin, *Epistolae*, eMGH_Epp. 4, Ep. 261, p. 419, line 8.

¹¹ M only: [piscium abstinentiam Deo uovet;]

¹² M and BNF lat. 11951: Prosecuta.

¹³ BNF lat. 11951: septem dierum.

24 tenens in hoc proiciat. Hoc igitur erit ei [in]¹⁴ signum quod quotiens [cumque]¹⁵ eundem piscem repperit
 25 piscatio cessabit. Quae etiam ut euidenter ostenditur iuxta dictum angelicum tantam horarum prolixitatem
 26 protrahebat donec idem piscis ab aquis denuo amouerentur. Nam quanto maor [circa beatum uirum] inerat
 27 hominum coadunatio tanto habebatur diutius piscis ocultatio, et quanto eorum minoratio tanto exigua
 28 eiusdem piscis [commoratio existebat].¹⁶ Piscis autem iste ut sub ridiculo dicamus, fidelis seruus domini sui
 29 inuenitur, qui cum pro quantitate et necessaria esurie supradictorum hominum consocios suos eidem domino
 30 ut nullo horum indigeat [colligi]¹⁷, quid aliud nisi habile debitae seruitutis obsequium inpendit. Cum idem
 31 uero ad primam apparitionem iussu sancti aquis summittitur et ad sodalium suorum agmina reuertitur quid
 32 aliud ut dixerimus nisi quasi discrete quales ex his quantique ad mensam domini sui uenire [debeat]¹⁸
 33 conuocat, et conuocandao [inuitat[ur]]¹⁹ Ad quem post inuitationem et inuentionem eorum ultimus uadit et
 34 ipse, acsi ad eos loquens dicat, ‘Si hinc non adquiescentes mihi exire renueritis, [ut]²⁰ incisionis signum,
 35 quod a domino accepi aspiciete.’

36 **3.** [V17] His quoque [iocundanter]²¹ dictis, ad piscationem [iam]²² [premissa]²³ redeamus, quae uita comite
 37 ipsius confessoris eundem sicut diigestum est sine fine mutabilitate [instanter]²⁴ ritum obtinuit. Post cuius
 38 [gloriosum ut fertur excessum]²⁵ omnibus [artis piscatoriae]²⁶ peritis se indagantibus antiquam morem
 39 restituit, hunc quoque denegauit. [DE QUODAM FERRO OLIM IN MARI PERDITE QUOD UULGO
 40 CULTELLUS DICITUR, QUOD [4/54 in margin] ET IPSE IN QUODAM PISCE REPPERIT]²⁷ In qua
 41 [retro obliti sumus]²⁸ piscatione []²⁹ quodam tempore accidit, quod famulus qui assuete pisces aquis
 42 exhauserat [ut]³⁰ mensae de ferebat cum olim eis hamum ad piscandum [supponeret - subponeret], ferrumque
 43 quod [uulgo]³¹ uocabulo cultellus nuncupatur, manu teneret []³² in ibi proiecit. De quo ipse [ualde coepit
 44 contristari].³³ Quod mox in noticiam sancti uiri a quibusdam relatum est, qui hoc audiens ad [ipm:]³⁴ se
 45 accersiri iussit. Ad quem, “Noli”, inquit “ulla coartari molestia, quia [die crastina]³⁵ [illus]³⁶ repperies. Unde
 46 famulus eoquod in profundam maris abyssum iecerat, uerba eius deliramenta reputauit, et omne quod

¹⁴ BNF lat. 11951 only.

¹⁵ M only: omitted.

¹⁶ M and BNF lat. 11951: existebat commoratio.

¹⁷ M and BNF lat. 11951: colligit.

¹⁸ M and BNF lat. 11951: debeant.

¹⁹ M: ‘inuitat?’; BNF lat. 11951: inuitat[ur]?

²⁰ BNF lat. 11951: uel.

²¹ M: iocundati; BNF lat. 11951: illege.

²² M and BNF lat. 11951: omitted.

²³ M and BNF lat. 11951: primam.

²⁴ M and BNF lat. 11951: indistanter.

²⁵ epithet and substantive separated.

²⁶ Echoes Paschasius Radbertus, *Expositio in Matheo*, Library of Latin Texts A, Bk VII, line 1135.

²⁷ M and BNF lat. 11951: omitted.

²⁸ M and BNF lat. 11951: omitted.

²⁹ M and BNF lat. 11951: quod retro obliti sumus.

³⁰ M and BNF lat. 11951: et.

³¹ M and BNF lat. 11951: vulgi.

³² M and BNF lat. 11951: utrumque.

³³ BNF lat. 11951: ualde coepit contristari.

³⁴ BNF lat. 11951 only.

³⁵ BNF lat. 11951: die crastina.

³⁶ M and BNF lat. 11951: illud.

47 confessor ei [dixit]³⁷, impossibile credidit. Cum uero ex more in orbita diei reuoluta, solitam piscium
 48 requireret capturam eosque caperet et ad domum referret. Confestim Beatus Maglorius quosdam illorum
 49 intuens celica inspiratione quis eorum esset, quo ferrum eius retinebatur intellexit. Quem baculo tangens,
 50 super hunc hesitanti famulo dixit, ‘hunc [exintera]³⁸ pisces, quia in eo ferrum quod amisisti inuenientur tibi.
 51 Que res ut sanctus futurum praescius prophetauerat, est publice inuenta et ambiguitas famuli obliuione
 52 tradita.’ Quod ualde omnes qui hoc et multa alia quae fecit, que etiam libris comprehendi non possunt
 53 audire, mirati sunt. Quis enim beatum Maglorium condigne ueneri queat, [cuius]³⁹ non solum homines
 54 uerum etiam irrationalis creatura, uidelicet iuxta thonitruum psalmista dicentis, *uolucres celi, [et]⁴⁰ pisces*
 55 *maris, qui perambulant semittas maris.*⁴¹ Dum uestigia eius [obsequuntur]⁴² dumque ipsi aduendum
 56 mirabiliter parant æscas obediunt imperio. Quis namque eum rite laudare ualeat, ad cuius uocem, mare
 57 contremuit, hominemque cui olim uitam abstulit, ad litus [eidem]⁴³ beatissimo [eidem]⁴⁴ confessori uiuum
 58 reddidit[ur]. Unde laus sit et gloria Christo domino qui operatur omnia in omnibus.

Commentary

59 **3.b.** Ex cuius modo piis actibus aliqui nutu diuino preueniente ad quandam significationem figuraliter
 60 transferre cupimus. Iam uero longe superius dictum est, quod idem confessor Christi Maglorius, quandam
 61 terram secus litus maris sitam in qua primum habitaret elegit. Quam ingressus, quendam hominem alepu
 62 mundauit. Post cuius curationem inde recedens mare transiit et terram ubi mire magnitudinis et pulchre aues
 63 pariter, et piscium congeries, consueta affluebant aggressus est. *Quid* autem *per mare nisi* quod saepe
 64 inuenitur *praesens saeculorum? Quid* nomine *litoris nisi* finis saeculi, *Quid* per terram nisi *fragilitatis nostre*
 65 *substantia*⁴⁵ exprimitur? Beatus igitur Maglorius terram iuxta litus maris existentem peccit cum *redemptor*
 66 *noster Christus*⁴⁶ dominus per asumptam humanitatem quam a nobis in fine saeculi *inter peccatores*
 67 *conuersari*⁴⁷ dignatus est. Ubi leprosum sanauit cum genus humanum misericorde sue medicamine
 68 uulneribus peccatorum nimio circumseptum explauit. Idem uero confessor Christi post emundationem
 69 leprosi, ad quandam terram ubi auium et piscium frequentatio inerat mare pertransiens iuit. Quid autem per
 70 terram hanc nisi illa de qua legitur, “*credo uidere bona domini in terra uiuentium*”⁴⁸, Et alibi, “*flores uisi*
 71 *sunt in terra*”⁴⁹, Quam scilicet terram quasi post transitum maris, id est post sublatas labentis saeculi
 72 erumnas, quas in passione per salute omnium sustinuit, iam *genere humano sanguinis*⁵⁰ sui effusione a

³⁷ BNF lat. 11951: dixerat.

³⁸ M and BNF lat. 11951: exintera.

³⁹ M only: cum.

⁴⁰ M only: omitted.

⁴¹ Psalm 8, 8.

⁴² M and BNF lat. 11951: subsequuntur.

⁴³ M and BNF lat. 11951: omitted.

⁴⁴ BNF lat. 11951: only.

⁴⁵ Appears in Gellon and Gregorian sacramentaries.

⁴⁶ Underlined words imitate and quote Gregory the Great, *Homiliae in euangelia*, Library of Latin Texts A, Bk II 2, Homily 24, par. 3, p. 198, line 40.

⁴⁷ Bede, *Homeliarum euangelii*, Library of Latin Texts A, Bk II, Homily 20, line 32.

⁴⁸ Psalm 26, vs 13.

⁴⁹ A popular quotation, possibly originating with Jerome.

⁵⁰ Orosius, *Historiarum aduersum paganos*, Library of Latin Texts A vol. III, Bk. 7, ch. 38, par. 5, line 1; Paulinus of Nola, *Carmina*, Library of Latin Texts A carmen 31, vs. 177, p. 313.

73 peccatorum maculis erepto introiuit, ubi aues ut dicam et pisces inuenit. Quid autem per aues nisi angelice
 74 uirtutes hic exprimi possunt, que uelut pennis uolare dicuntur cum a domino ad aliquid annunciandum
 75 mittunt[ur], que etiam mirae magnitudinis existere perhibentur, cum quasi inmanissimam corpore staturae
 76 formam habentes, contra inmundorum spirituum iacula uiriliter dimicare testantur ut in Apochalypsy
 77 Iohannis apostoli inuenitur. *Factum est proelium in caelo Michael et angeli eius proliabantur cum dracone.*⁵¹
 78 Fertur etiam easdem aues pulchritudinem. Quam uero æ[edem] angelicae uirtutes pulchrae sint, sub
 79 preciosum lapidum nomine in sacro eloquio repperitur cum de prima angelo quibus antequam laberetur
 80 circumuallatus erat legitur, *‘Omnis lapis preciosus operimentum tuum, Sardius, topazius, Iaspis, Chrisolitus,*
 81 *Onis, et Berillus, Saphirus, carbunculus, et smaragdus.*⁵² Quid autem captura piscium per quos sepe
 82 homines, in diuinis scripturarum paginis designarent[ur], nisi quod hoc loco sancti uiri exprimi possunt,
 83 Multa namque piscium captura, ad obediendum beato Maglorio concors efficiebatur auium quia infinitus
 84 s[corum] numerus ad seruiendum creatori suo angelice dignitati in caelestibus in una pace est consociatus.
 85 Quam scilicet pacem in natiuitate Christi ipsa praedicauit dicens. *‘Gloria in excelsis domino et in terra pax*
 86 *hominibus bone uoluntatis’.*⁵³ De utrisque enim scriptum est, *‘Statuit terminos gentium iuxta numerum*
 87 *angelorum domini’.*⁵⁴ Et de eisdem gentibus predictus Johannes ait apostolus, *“uidi turbam magnam quam*
 88 *dinumerare nemo poterat, ex omnibus gentibus et tribubus, et populis et linguis stantes ante thronum*
 89 *in conspectu agni’.*⁵⁵ Et psalmista ait, *‘Dinumerabo eos et super arenam multiplicabuntur.’*⁵⁶ Pisces uero ut
 90 salui fiant, aquis proteguntur, quia electi uiri unda *baptismatis* in aeternum ut *saluentur abluuntur.*⁵⁷ Utraque
 91 uero congeries beato Maglorio occurrens obedire satagit, quia et angelica et humana natura, summi pontificis
 92 Christi presentie assistens, cum sine fine conlaudat. Nemo nos hoc ut cumque prosequendo redargui/at, cum
 93 per significationem utrorumque animalium in sanctorum euangelistarum uoluminibus, angeli et electi
 94 inueniuntur, de angelis uero a domino dictum est, *‘Ubicumque fuerit corpus illuc congregabuntur aquilae’.*⁵⁸
 95 De hominibus quoque [laupatet], cum magni pisces ad cenam magni Christi positi sunt, in [que?] quorum
 96 pr[ae]celsam uidelicet scorum cur iam beatissimus confessor Christi Maglorius cuius hodie annua
 97 reuolutione festa percolimus gemma caelestis uelut *ignitos lapides*⁵⁹ est subleuatus et in conspectu ipsius
 98 Christi domini, iam luce in marcessibili fulgescit lustratus. Quam ipse sanctorum operum exhibitione dum
 99 huic mundo polleret sine fine promeruit, unde modo letatur dicens, *‘Ego autem cum iusticia apparebo [rum*
 100 *rubbed out] in conspectu tuo domine satiabor cum apparuerit gloria tua.’*⁶⁰ Et iterum, *‘anima mea exultabit*
 101 *in domino’.*⁶¹ [Congratulatur]⁶² namque quia de *ergastulo carnis*⁶³ solutos, factus est anglorum socius, *stola*

⁵¹ Revelation 12, 7.

⁵² Ezekiel 28, 13.

⁵³ Luke, 2, 14.

⁵⁴ Deut. 32, 8 (in *Vetus Italica* versions, predating the Vulgate).

⁵⁵ Revelation 7, 9.

⁵⁶ Psalm 138, 18.

⁵⁷ Augustine of Hippo, *Confessions*, Library of Latin Texts A, Bk 6, ch. 13, line 1.

⁵⁸ Luke 17, 37; Matt. 24, 38.

⁵⁹ Maccabees II, 10, 3. *Vetus* translated from Greek, available it seems only in the Library of Latin Texts A.

⁶⁰ Psalm 16, but not the Vulgate. See also <http://cantusindex.org>.

⁶¹ Isiah, 61, 10.

⁶² Very rare word.

⁶³ Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, Library of Latin Texts A, SChr 490, Bk IV, ch. 9, par. 2, p.. 244, line 12.

102 *immortalitatis indutus*.⁶⁴ Gaudet etiam quia de saeculo nequam erutus, spirito hoste antiquo, in aethereis
 103 mansionibus cum palma uictoriae triumphat gloriosus. Quem uero iuxta apostolici sermonis edictum, *in*
 104 *psalmis et hymnis et canticis spiritualibus*,⁶⁵ et maxime moribus honestis omnes nos oportet uenerari,
 105 quatinus in huius uitae excursu, exemplis eius et meritis suffragari, ut in caelestibus cum ipso et cum
 106 omnibus sanctus, mereamur per infinita saecula saeculorum letari archi.

A second author (Family 2) begins here

Hybrid *Miracula*

107 4. [V18] Aliarum quoque virtutum insignia, quæ per eundem archipræsulem diuinæ pietatis immensitas
 108 quasi quodam jubare terris emergere voluit, lenta silentii torpedine arbitror non esse prætermittenda. Igitur,
 109 fratres dilectissimi, quia tempus et res exigit, ut veridicus sermo *capiat exordium*⁶⁶, pauca quæ de illius
 110 [sunt]⁶⁷, virtutum pelago quorundam religiosorum attigi relatu, pro ut diuina largitas []⁶⁸ meæ p[ro]icie⁶⁹,
 111 vires administraverit, *lembum exiguum scandens*⁷⁰, humili caractere breuiter expedire non differam.

112 [DE FAME BRITANNIAM CONSTRINGENTE]⁷¹ Itaque, cum præfati viri Maglorii volatilis fama regiones
 113 et urbes longe lateque circa utramque *alvei maris*⁷² crepidinem sitam *celeri volatu*⁷³ perlustrare cœpisset,
 114 Britannia, olim fertilis [regio]⁷⁴, diræ famis acerbitate, *negantibus sulcis semina*⁷⁵ [ubi]⁷⁶ *credita* reddere,
 115 vehementissime cœpit urgeri. Cumque fames oppido inoleuisset⁷⁷, et [intra]⁷⁸ finitimos nulla commercia
 116 possent inueniri, unde fames posset adimi, multi nobilium diræ pestis novitate perculsi, paterna linquentes
 117 magnalia, ut turpe famis periculum possent evadere, beati viri præsentiam *catervatim adire cœperunt*.⁷⁹
 118 Cumque a beatissimo viro pastum corporalem *anxie appetere*⁸⁰, ipse de *animarum lucris plus sollicitus*,⁸¹
 119 æternæ vitæ præmia, si a viciis transactis resipiscerent, paterno pollicebatur affectu. Nam præfatus vir inter
 120 ceteras virtutes, quibus aliis imminebat, litteralibus studiis satis erat imbutus. Ergo vir doctiloquus ex Veteri
 121 et Novo, ut doctus scribe, potestative dogmatizans, illorum mentes in scientiam primitus diuinis instruebat
 122 adjunctis, deinde corpoream fragilitatem carnis necessariis sustentabat alimentis: sicque gemino pastu
 123 refocillari, precibus indefessis, vocibus assiduis Deo omnipotenti innumeras referebant grates, qui tantæ

⁶⁴ Caesarius of Arles, *Sermones Caesarii uel ex aliis fontibus hausti*, Library of Latin Texts A_SL 104, sermon 227, ch. 6, line 1.

⁶⁵ Eph. 5, 19.

⁶⁶ Cicero, *De legibus* Library of Latin Texts A, Bk I, par. 8, p. 383, line 34.

⁶⁷ M and BNF lat. 11951: omitted.

⁶⁸ M and BNF lat. 11951: imperitiæ.

⁶⁹ M and BNF lat. 11951: proicie omitted.

⁷⁰ Paulinus of Nola (pseudo) (Prosper Aquitanus [dubium]), *Poema coniugis ad uxorem*, Library of Latin Texts A vs. 21.

⁷¹ M and BNF lat. 11951: omitted.

⁷² Vulgate, Chronicles II, 4, 3.

⁷³ Appears in Gregory of Tours and Venantius Fortunatus.

⁷⁴ BNF lat. 11951: regi.

⁷⁵ Boethius, *Philosophiae consolatio*, Library of Latin Texts A, Bk I, sermon 6, vs. 1: BNF lat. 11951: semma.

⁷⁶ M and BNF lat. 11951: sibi.

⁷⁷ M and BNF lat. 11951: inolevit.

⁷⁸ M: inter; BNF lat. 11951, abbrev. unclear.

⁷⁹ Yso of Sangall, *De miraculis Sancti Otmari* Bk II (BHL-6387) eMGH, ch. 2, , p. 53, line 12.

⁸⁰ Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Job*, Library of Latin Texts A, Bk VI, par. 16, lines 146 and 156 and Bk XV, par. 56, line 48.

⁸¹ Gregory the Great, *Registrum epistularum*, eMGH Ep. 2, Ind. 9, Ep. 9, p. 160, line 23.

124 scientiæ virum, sibi et Deo delitescere cupientem, et familiæ suæ præesse et illorum necessitati subvenire suo
125 ineffabili consilio modernis temporibus subrogasset.

126 4. [V19] Interea dum apud Sargiam hæc agerentur, ob multitudinem confluentium magnum penus monasterii
127 parvo spatio visum est consummari. Quod œconomus et decanus consensu fratrum monasterio [grauiter
128 dolentes]⁸², quadam die, finito cursu matutinali, beato viro intimare voce lugubri aggressi sunt, dicentes:
129 Pater sancte, ovilis tibi commissi grex devotissimus, qui sub tuo regimine jugum Christi ferentes monastice
130 vivunt, consilium vivendi a te expetunt, vestræ notitiæ humiliter intimantes, cerealia dona necnon et bacchica
131 in hoc monasterio jamjamque deficere. His auditis, vir beatissimus, nullo mœrore dejectus, [ut]⁸³ quid animi
132 fratres haberent vel quid agendum decernerent, sagaci investigatione [ne]⁸⁴ disquirat. Tunc œconomus cum
133 decano monasterii velle fratrum tale esse intulerunt, ut, paucis secum remanentibus, ceteri fratres, accepta
134 illius licentia, ut inopem vitam a periculo famis eripere possent, longinquas adirent regiones, et sedata fame
135 vitæque conservata, ad eundem patrem Christo militaturi incolumes quandoque redirent. Sanctus vero
136 Maglorius, audita fratrum dispersione, longa suspiria imo pectore trahens, singultu quatiens et *lacrymis*
137 *obortis*⁸⁵, aliquantisper obmutuit. Sed transacto tempore lacrymarum, respiciens prophetica et evangelica
138 voce respondit: O fratres *minimæ fidei*⁸⁶, quare estis tam timidi? Nonne potens est *Deus parare mensam in*
139 *deserto*?⁸⁷ Quis enorme virorum agmen temporibus priscis angelicis pastibus satiavit? Quis illorum
140 vestimenta, *quinis* annorum decursibus *octies labentibus*,⁸⁸ ab omni integra vetustate reservavit? Quis petram
141 siccam atque durissimam, ut *populus biberet et jumenta*⁸⁹, largissimas fundere jussit aquas? *Nempe virtus*
142 Domini nostri Jesu Christi, de quo legitur: *Christus erat panis, Christus petra, Christus in undis*⁹⁰, qui
143 *panibus quinibus et gemellis piscibus quinquies millenos*⁹¹ præter matres et infantes satiavit, hæc omnia
144 potenter est operata.

145 5. [V20] Interea dum sanctus vir vellet talem protelare locutionem, hora prandii [adfuit]⁹². Cumque ab
146 œconomus fuisset [interrogatum]⁹³ quinam secum pransuri essent, hilari vultu respondisse fertur: Infantes
147 sugentes ubera, puer imberbis, adolescens prima lanugine gaudens, ephebi juvenes, senes delirantes, advena
148 sicut et indigena, ad nostram pauperem mensam cum omni fiducia, nullo prohibente, [festinanter]⁹⁴ accedant.
149 Sed ecce nos dum sancti viri *mira caritas*⁹⁵ et affabilitas erga cunctos qualis fuerit monstrare conati sumus,

⁸² M and BNF lat. 11951: condolentes.

⁸³ M and BNF lat. 11951: vel.

⁸⁴ M and BNF lat. 11951: omitted.

⁸⁵ Echoes Virgil, *Ænid*, 3.492; 4.30; 6.867; 11.41, identified by Kerlouégan, 'Les citations d'auteurs latins profanes', p. 185.

⁸⁶ Matt. 6, 30. This chapter also discusses the theme of fear/timidity.

⁸⁷ Psalm 77, vs. 19.

⁸⁸ Prudentius, *Liber Cathemerinon*, Library of Latin Texts A, hymn 7, vs. 186.

⁸⁹ Numbers 20, 11.

⁹⁰ Coelius Sedulius, *Carmen Paschale*, Bk I, vs 158, p. 27, identified by Wright, 'Knowledge of Christian Latin poets', p. 169.

⁹¹ Prudentius, *Liber Cathemerinon*, Library of Latin Texts A, hymn 9, vs 58.

⁹² M and BNF lat. 11951: affuit.

⁹³ M only: interrogatus.

⁹⁴ M and BNF lat. 11951: festinantes.

⁹⁵ Sulpicius Severus, *Vita Martini*, ch. 2, par. 7.

150 ab ordine narrationis *deflexo tramite* aliquantulum evagati sumus. Ergo ad ejusdem narrationis seriem *recto*
151 *tramite*⁹⁶ redeundum est.

152 DE PARUULIS NAUGANTIBUS: Finito autem [consilio]⁹⁷, postquam est epulando fames exempta,
153 quidam monachorum more solito orandi vel legendi seu etiam quiescendi gratia secreta latibula, quidam
154 vero, quisque prout sibi injunctum erat, diversa petiere negotia. Tunc parvuli []⁹⁸ prosapia editi, qui inter
155 claustra monasterii rigore disciplinæ constringebantur, terratenus provoluti, Sancti Maglorii pedes amplexati
156 sunt, dicentes: “Beatissime pater, permitte nobis portum atque litus adire, ut garrulitas nostræ vocis monachis
157 [nonpossit dormientibus somnum]⁹⁹ eripere, et ut securius alta voce legentes nostras lectiones valeamus
158 [memorie]¹⁰⁰ commendare. Quam petitionem sanctus vir *gratanter accipiens dixit*¹⁰¹: In nomine Jesu Christi,
159 qui parvulos ad se venientes nec ad modicum passus est contristari, cum *omni sobrietate*¹⁰², nihil pueriliter
160 agentes, pergite: congruo tempore iterum incolumes ad monasterium reversuri. At illi, suscepta benedictione
161 et licentia [beati]¹⁰³ viri, ultra quam credi potest hilares effecti, per []¹⁰⁴ montis latera et scopulosa ad loca
162 maritima, quæ græco vocabulo [ACOE]¹⁰⁵ vocitantur, inoffenso pede descenderunt.

163 6. [V21] Forte in litoris extremitate, ubi nullus fervor []¹⁰⁶, obstante crepidinis altitudine, accedere poterat,
164 navis erat emerita, et multo tempore neglecta, cujus juncturæ compago jamjamque carie et putredine
165 consumi videbatur. Quam parvuli videntes, nam in tuto loco ab accessu marino sedebant, jocaturi vel lecturi,
166 more infantili, intraverunt. Cumque navis magnitudinem huc illucque, nam pro sui magnitudine triremis
167 vocitari poterat, absque prora donec ventum est ad puppim legentes vel jocantes discurrerent, malina
168 incredibilis subito accessit et parvulos cum navi citissime portavit. Cumque parvuli navigatione timida, et
169 post Petrum Apostolum inusitata (nam nullo remige navis ducebatur) quasi maris medietatem essent emensi,
170 Sanctum Maglorium querulis vocibus invocare cœperunt. Cumque ejulatu magno flerent, Sanctus Maglorius,
171 lacrymis illorum commotus, quasi corporaliter illis apparuit, et illorum mœstitiam paterno more consolatus,
172 navemque baculo gubernans, ad alterius ripæ marginem, ut illis videbatur, divino nutu salvos et incolumes
173 perduxit.

174 7. [V22] Sed inter hæc incolæ maritimi navem tantæ magnitudinis intuentes, inæstimabili gaudio concussi,
175 diversa negotia, more solito peregrino litore adducta, [capturos]¹⁰⁷ se pensantes, cum incredibili pondere auri
176 et argenti catervatim illis obviam occurrerunt. Cumque navem miræ magnitudinis, expertem totius negotii,

⁹⁶ Sedulius Scottus, Library of Latin Texts A, vol. I, *Carmina*, Bk I, ch. 7, vs. 13, p. 229.

⁹⁷ M and BNF lat. 11951: convivio.

⁹⁸ M and BNF lat. 11951: monachi, nobili.

⁹⁹ M and BNF lat. 11951: quiescentibus somnum non possit.

¹⁰⁰ M: omitted; BNF lat. 11951, added in margin.

¹⁰¹ Wrmonoc, *Vita Pauli*, Bk II, ch. 17/51, p. 244.

¹⁰² Alcuin, *Epistolae*, eMGH, Epp. 4, Ep. 4, p. 29, line 35 and Ep. 276, line 433, p. 24; Alcuin, *Vita Willibrordi*, ch. 11, p. 125, line 20.

¹⁰³ M and BNF lat. 11951: beatissimi.

¹⁰⁴ M and BNF lat. 11951: devexa.

¹⁰⁵ M only: ἀκρη.

¹⁰⁶ M: maritimus; BNF. Lat 11951 unclear.

¹⁰⁷ M and BNF lat. 11951: captaturos.

177 [eo]¹⁰⁸ quod magis expavesceres, naucleri totiusque navalis instrumenti juvamine destitutam, torvis
 178 *luminibus intuerentur*¹⁰⁹, nacta occasione, altercatio non minima orta est in populo, quibusdam asserentibus,
 179 diabolicum hoc esse phantasma, aliis vero contradicentibus, divina esse magnalia, obstinato animo inter se
 180 contendebant. Non parvam [populo dedit]¹¹⁰ admirationem, quod in eadem navi nulla carbasa, nullum
 181 aplustre, nulla etiam artemonis [amminicula]¹¹¹, et, ut epilogum breviter [includam]¹¹², nulla navalia
 182 apparebant instrumenta. Cumque tali obstinatione detenti essent, et nulla pars alteri crederet, altiori consilio
 183 visum est, veridicos regiæ sublimitati nuntios dirigere, ut ad tantam litem dirimendam et spectaculum tam
 184 inopinatum cum summæ peritiæ viris accedere non tardaret. [Quod ita et factum est.]¹¹³ Rex autem cum
 185 audisset, vehementer admirans, summa cum festinatione, coadunato exercitu, hujuscemodi miraculum
 186 visurus, perrexit ad litus. Cumque navem, nullo *apparatu instructam*¹¹⁴, et parvulos quasi semihomines
 187 aspexisset, sedilia sibi regalia in loco editiore primitus fieri iussit, deinde parvulos ante præsentiam totius
 188 senatus accersiri præcepit. Tunc parvuli ante regem astantes intrepidi, inquisiti per interpretem, quam
 189 occasione hæc res tam spectabilis orta esset. Primitus de fame terram constringente et de sancto viro, apud
 190 Sargiam cum suis monachis conversante, et de sui navigatione, præsentia Sancti Maglorii suffulta, omnia per
 191 ordinem retulerunt.

192 **8.** [V23] Itaque rex, audita fama beatissimi viri, ut ajunt, pene lacrymans, multum indoluit tantæ sanctitatis
 193 virum et tantis virtutibus pollentem hactenus sibi latuisse. Tandem usus consilio majorum et maxime
 194 episcoporum, intelligens, divino instinctu ad se navem [esse destina tam]¹¹⁵, ut sancti viri inopia regali
 195 abundantia suppleretur, eandem [navem]¹¹⁶ frumento et farina, vestimentis et lana et bonis omnibus ab imo
 196 summotenus onerari præcepit. Insuper etiam *ignotum pondus auri et argenti*¹¹⁷ cum litteris sigillatis Sancto
 197 Maglorio transmisit, in quibus litteris insertum erat, []¹¹⁸ singulis annis viros industrios, peritos navigandi,
 198 mitteret ad regem, qui cuncta fratribus necessaria ex regali fisco susciperent, et monasterio deferrent. Ita
 199 tamen ut pro regis incolumitate et regni stabilitate et peccaminum absolute illorum cura in perpetuum
 200 pervigil excubaret. Repleta autem navi tanta ubertate, ne tanto oneri victa succumberet, regi suadebant, ut
 201 viros strenuissimos, navigandi peritos, studiosissime inquireret, qui eandem navem cum tantis epimeniis
 202 Beato Maglorio incolumem præsentarent. Quo audito, rex, majorum consilio et maxime episcoporum usus,
 203 sapienter respondisse fertur: Si divina virtute nostri litoris portum, nullo ducente, sine ullo phantasmate
 204 tetigit, salva fide credimus, ad eundem portum, unde digressa est, eadem potentia, qua delata fuit, mox esse
 205 reversuram. Quod ita et factum est. Nam finito sermone regali, *Zephirus*¹¹⁹ ratem suscipiens, *non præcipitem*

¹⁰⁸ M and BNF lat. 11951: et.

¹⁰⁹ *Miracula Sancti Columbani*, eMGH SS 30, 2, ch. 19, p. 1007, line 2.

¹¹⁰ BNF lat. 11951: dedit populo.

¹¹¹ M only: adminicula.

¹¹² M and BNF lat. 11951: concludam.

¹¹³ M and BNF lat. 11951: omitted.

¹¹⁴ 'La Vita Machutis par Bili', Bk I, ch. 9, p. 305.

¹¹⁵ M and BNF lat. 11951: destinata.

¹¹⁶ M and BNF lat. 11951: navim.

¹¹⁷ Tiberius Claudatus Donatus, *Interpretationes Virgilianae*, vol. 1, Bk 1, p. 79.

¹¹⁸ M and BNF lat. 11951: ut.

¹¹⁹ Faint parallels with *Miracula Sancti Wandregisili Fontanellensia*, MGH SS 15,1, BHL-8807, ch. 7, p. 407, line. 29.

206 *Africum decertantem Aquilonibus, nec tristes Hiadas, nec rabiem Nothi, nec fratris Helenæ lucida sidera*¹²⁰
 207 pertimescens, eamdem navem, æquoreas findentem aquas, ad eundem portum, unde digressa fuerat,
 208 remeante tertia luce, cum parvulis et cum omnium admiratione et ingenti alacritate incolumem reduxit.
 209 [Praetante domino nostro Iehsu Christo cuius est laus et gloria in saecula, [AMEN]¹²¹]¹²²

210 DE PLUSTRO FRACTO ULTRA MODUM ONERATO Interea beneficia Dei erga se parvulis recitantibus,
 211 et quomodo Sanctus Maglorius in eundo et in redeundo baculo navem gubernans illis apparuerit [ad
 212 testantibus]¹²³, omnis insula una cum monachis incredibili lætitia lacrymas præ gaudio fundebant.

213 **9.** [V24] Tunc œconomus, jubente episcopo, ut navem alleviaret, ad litus perrexit, *onerato plastro*¹²⁴ sena
 214 boum juga, qui plastrum traherent, secum adhibuit. Sed, ut [semper euenire solet]¹²⁵ crescere erga pios et
 215 subjectos Dei magnalia, ex virtute [uis oritur ex]¹²⁶ altera. Nam cum per devexa montis plastrum minare
 216 cœpissent, quoddam obstaculum, rotarum volubilitatem in modum sufflaminis retardans, in medio itinere
 217 offenderunt. Cumque magno conamine bubulci plastrum impingerent, et illata injuste vulnera bovinas
 218 infligerent costas, solutis decem anterioribus, volubile plastrum cum geminis [bubus]¹²⁷, temoni
 219 inhærentibus, ad navem usque descendit. Cumque [hi]¹²⁸, qui aderant, pene lacrymantes plastrum
 220 insequerentur, nullam fracturam plastrum, nullam læsionem boum deprehendere possent, quid actum esset,
 221 episcopo nunciaverunt. At ille immensas Deo omnipotenti gratias referens, “Nolite, [inquit]¹²⁹, animo
 222 [consternari].¹³⁰ Antiquus hostis, invidia tabescens, dum vincere cupit, virtute Jesu Christi victus succumbit.”
 223 Sed ite potius ad navem et plastrum melius [honerate]¹³¹, et neglectis decem, qui evaserunt geminis bobus,
 224 præcipite, ut plastrum cum duplici onere ad monasterium sine ullo impedimento illorum gestamine
 225 reportetur. Illi autem profecti, plastrum [onerantes]¹³², boves minantes, ad claustra monasterii, Deo ducente,
 226 pervenerunt incolumes.

227 **10.** [V25] [DE FILIA MUTA NIUONIS REDDITA SANITATI]¹³³ [Benedicta haec miracula huius sancti
 228 uiri]¹³⁴ [dimissa]¹³⁵, [aliaque breuiter exsequuntur]¹³⁶. Sub ejusdem quoque temporis articulo, quo Sargia
 229 miraculis et virtutibus Beati Maglorii celebris habebatur, Bissargia insula, eidem Sargiæ vicina, *dives*
 230 *opum*¹³⁷ atque frugum, a quodam viro nobili, qui vocabatur Nivo, jure hereditario tenebatur. Qui præfatus vir

¹²⁰ Horace, *Ode I Carminum*, III; Kerlouégan, ‘Citations d’auteurs latin chrétiens’, p. 191.

¹²¹ Amen’ written in Greek characters in ms.

¹²² M and BNF lat. 11951: omitted.

¹²³ M BNF lat. 11951:: attestantibus.

¹²⁴ Claudian, *Carmina maiora et publica*, eMGH, Auct. ant. 10, *De bello Pollentino*, p. 281, v. 601.

¹²⁵ M only: solent semper.

¹²⁶ M and BNF lat. 11951: exoritur virtus.

¹²⁷ M and BNF lat. 11951: bobus.

¹²⁸ BNF lat. 11951: hii.

¹²⁹ BNF lat. 11951: inquit.

¹³⁰ M only: contristari.

¹³¹ BNF lat. 11951: inquit.

¹³² BNF lat. 11951: onerantes.

¹³³ M: omitted.

¹³⁴ M and BNF lat. 11951: His ita.

¹³⁵ M and BNF lat. 11951: dimissis.

¹³⁶ M and BNF lat. 11951: alia ejusdem viri miracula breuiter exequamur.

¹³⁷ echoes Virgil, *Ænid*, 1.14 and 2.22; Kerlouégan, ‘Citations d’auteurs latin chrétiens’, p. 185.

231 licet *terram*, ut ajunt, *centum pene verteret aratris*,¹³⁸ æquoreos meatus innumeris solitus *sulcare [ca]*¹³⁹
 232 *carinis*.¹⁴⁰ Uno tamen infortunio laborabat. Nam expers masculæ prolis divitem censum non sine magno
 233 dolore alieno servabat heredi. Huic forte unica filia, jam nubilus et nimia pulchritudine laudabilis, habebatur:
 234 sed quia officio linguæ, fortuna invidente, erat destituta, licet erat nobilis, a nullo procorum sub nomine dotis
 235 expetebatur. Quadam vero die [accessit]¹⁴¹ pater [eius]¹⁴², rogaturus pro filia, ad Sanctum Maglorium
 236 accessit, magna beneficia promittens, si puella, sancto viro opem ferente, sanitati redderetur. Tunc Sanctus
 237 Maglorius humiliter se excusans, respondit dicens, ‘Fili, noli mihi molestus esse, nam hoc quod requiris, non
 238 est [certe]¹⁴³ nostræ fragilitatis. Nam quando aliqua infirmitate nos ipsi detinemur, incertum habemus, utrum
 239 subitanea morte prærepti, rupto stamine parcarum, vita careamus, an iterum, finita passione, redivivi, Deo
 240 jubente, ad vitam redeamus. Ergo qui propria potestate corporis [potestate]¹⁴⁴ caremus, quomodo de alieno
 241 [pestes]¹⁴⁵, a Deo [pestes]¹⁴⁶ permissas, expellere valemus?’ His et aliis argumentis virum a se repellere
 242 cupiens, suadebat illi domum reverti, et copiam eleemosynarum pro filiæ sanitate Deo omnipotenti, qui
 243 aperit et nemo claudit, claudit et nemo aperit, citissime largiri. Quo audito, suas preces ad Sanctum
 244 Maglorium [nil]¹⁴⁷ valuisse cognoscens, tristis effectus, domum rediit, et cuncta per ordinem suæ conjugii
 245 replicavit.

246 11. [V26] Quibus auditis, mulier ad horam paulisper obticuit. Sed postquam virum suum passis visceribus
 247 agnovit exhilaratum, familiaribus dictis illum aggreditur dicens: “Domine, *quid nobis proderunt*¹⁴⁸ post
 248 obitum divitiæ, quandoque perituræ, si liberis orbat, nulla posteritatis indicia relinquamus? Ergo pecuniam
 249 in tres partes cum ipsa terra suadeo dividendam, et duabus partibus ad nostrum opus reservatis, tertiam sine
 250 aliqua dilatione pro puellæ sanitate Deo omnipotenti et Sancto Maglorio offerendam.” Cujus sermo cum in
 251 oculis omnium placuisset, facta divisione terræ et pecuniæ, una secum puellam adducentes, quadam die ad
 252 Sanctum Maglorium perrexerunt. Cumque sanctum virum orantem [intra]¹⁴⁹ cubiculum offendissent, terram
 253 cum pecunia simul offerentes, [praecibus]¹⁵⁰ [indefessi]¹⁵¹ pro filiæ sanitate rogare cœperunt. Quorum
 254 petitionem vel donationem vir sanctus humiliter respuens, ultra suas vires hoc negotium esse, obstinato
 255 animo asseverabat. Tandem coactus a fratribus, parentum [puellæ]¹⁵² quoque fidem et devotionem aspiciens,
 256 humi prostratus una cum omnibus, qui aderant, *lacrymis ubertim obortis*¹⁵³, orationem diutissime fudit.
 257 Cumque ab oratione surrexisset, *sacratissimi olei liquorem* accepit, et in *os puellæ* cum aqua *benedicta*¹⁵⁴

¹³⁸ Echoes Virgil, *Aenid*, 7:539; Wright, ‘Some further Virgilian borrowings’, p. 168.

¹³⁹ BNF lat. 11951 only.

¹⁴⁰ Alcuin, *Carmina*, eMGH, *Poetae* 1, Carmen. 76, 2, p. 298, vs. 1; Alcuin, *Epistolae*, eMGH, Epp. Ep. 251, p. 407, line 23.

¹⁴¹ M and BNF lat. 11951: omitted.

¹⁴² M and BNF lat. 11951: illius - word order of whole sentence differs in ms.

¹⁴³ M only: omitted.

¹⁴⁴ M and BNF lat. 11951: omitted.

¹⁴⁵ BNF lat. 11951: omitted.

¹⁴⁶ BNF lat. 11951 only.

¹⁴⁷ M only: nihil.

¹⁴⁸ Gen, 37, 26; Job, 21, 15.

¹⁴⁹ M: inter: BNF lat. 11951: unclear.

¹⁵⁰ M and BNF lat. 11951: omitted.

¹⁵¹ BNF lat. 11951 only: indefessis.

¹⁵² M: omitted: BNF lat. 11951: quoque puellae.

¹⁵³ Echoes Virgil, *Aenid*, 3.492; 4.30; 6.867; 11.41; Kerlouégan, ‘Citations d’auteurs latins chrétiens’, p. 185.

¹⁵⁴ Sulpicius Severus, *Vita Martini*, ch. 16.

258 immisit dicens: Domine Jesu Christe, qui condolens humanæ conditioni ex sinu paterno descendens
 259 hominem, diabolica fraude deceptum, proprio cruore ad propriam dignitatem reduxisti, peccata, quæ nostra
 260 fragilitate contraximus, post tergum projice, et asstantium fidei, et maxime puellæ parentum devotioni
 261 clementer annuens, illius linguæ [vinculum]¹⁵⁵ miseratus absolve, ut posteritas, ab illa nascitura, nomen
 262 gloriæ tuæ sanctum benedicat in sæcula sæculorum. Ad hanc vocem beatissimi Maglorii, respondentibus
 263 cunctis, amen, *ruptis retinaculis*¹⁵⁶ linguæ verbimorosæ, apertum est illico os ejus, et more Zachariæ
 264 Prophetæ ad propria cum parentibus remeans, loquebatur [recte]¹⁵⁷, benedicens Deum [qui uiuit et regnat in
 265 saecula saeculorum [AMEN].]¹⁵⁸¹⁵⁹

NB. Poulin sees a break here and labels these the 'Miracula in Sargia Insula'. However, their style and political affiliation is very similar to that of the Hybrid Miracula above.

Ante-mortem Miracula

266 12. [LB1] Aliud quoque miraculum¹⁶⁰ quod per eundem Maglorium licet absentem, diuina gratia dignata est
 267 ostendere, silentio non est praeter mittendum. Tempore igitur quo sanctus Maglorius uirtutibus pollens, apud
 268 Sargiam cum suis monachis sexta duobus conuersabat. Sanctus Sulinus, per omnia uir catholicus, sancti
 269 Samsonis aequaliter moribus instructus, ultra eius cocuos studiis, litteralibus satis inbutus, collegium normae
 270 monachorum in Britannia gubernabat. Qui Sulinus quendam habebat archimagirum, cui per ceteris speciali
 271 familiaritate omnes sua culinae commiserat inpensas. Cuius monasterium ex una parte eam Petri planitiae, ex
 272 altera uero, fluuiali amaenitate ut oceani inundatione iocundum habebatur.

273 13. [LB2] Quodam itaque tempore supradictus iuuenis in patientia ductus amoris, nam ultra fluuium, forte
 274 scortum habebat. Postquam cibaria fratribus administrasset, *oceano iam rapiente diem*¹⁶¹, eundem fluuium
 275 natando transire decreuit. Et quia *durus amor magnum uersabat in ossibus ignem*, nec *miseri parentes neque*
 276 *moritura super crudeli funere uirgo*¹⁶² a suo scelere inchoato illum reuocabant. Ergo, turbata procellis *nocte*
 277 *caecaa natans aequora*, a quodam pisce magna seueritatis, qui uocatur congrus, uehementissime uexari
 278 cepit. Cumque iam in eo esset, ut piscis praedo furens illum quasi praedam ad inferiora traheret, inuocatis
 279 multis nominibus sanctorum licet nichil profuerit, tandem sanctum Maglorium specialiter inuocauit. Tunc
 280 sanctus Maglorius *mirabile dictu*¹⁶³ sibi apparuit, et quia segniter se defenderet, increpauit dicens, “fili
 281 resipisce et extragens cultellum quo accinctus es, in pectore piscis reconde, quia crastina die per uirtutem
 282 domini nostri Iesu Christi hora prandii, et piscem fratribus comedendum offeres, et cultellum certissime

¹⁵⁵ M only: omitted.

¹⁵⁶ Aldhelm, *Carmina rhythmica*, eMGH, *Auct. ant.* 15, Carm. 1, p. 525, vs. 19.

¹⁵⁷ M only: omitted.

¹⁵⁸ M and BNF lat. 11951: omitted.

¹⁵⁹ ‘Amen’ written in Greek characters in ms.

¹⁶⁰ B: narraculum.

¹⁶¹ Coelius Sedulius, *Carmen Paschale* 3.220, Wright, ‘Knowledge of Christian Latin poets’, p. 169.

¹⁶² Virgil, *Georgics*, Bk III, vs. 257-63.

¹⁶³ Echoes Virgil, *Aenid.* 1.439; 2.174; 4.182; 7.64; 8.252; *Georgics*: 2.30; 3.275; 2.680; 3.26; 4.554; Kerlouégan, ‘Citations d’auteurs latins chrétiens’, p. 185.

283 inuenies.” Ad hanc uocem, inuenis extracto cultello uulnus inflixit, et ad ripam desiderabilem resumptis
284 uiribus domino ducente peruenit incolumis.

285 14. [LB3] *Oceanum interea surgens aurora reliquit*¹⁶⁴, piscationes uero piscium multitudinem ad opus fratrem
286 more solito obtulerunt, cumque idem coquinarius inter pisces qui allati fuerant, congrum uulnere nouiter
287 inflictum diligenti examinatione conspiceret, reatum f/sui confessus, quanta per noctem ab eodem pisce fuerat
288 propessus, et quomodo a sancto Maglorio fuisset liberatus, coram astantibus per ordinem replicauit. Sed cum
289 eius dictus uel pauci uel nulli fidem adhib[er]ent, sanctus Sulinus, cui per spiritum sanctum fuerat hoc
290 miraculum iam reuelatum, adstantibus dixit, “fratres, nolite diffidere de ineffabili potentia diuinitatis, sed
291 piscem qui in medio est ex interate, et si eius cultellum intra eius pectusculum ut asserit, inueneritis domino
292 omnipotenti et sancto Maglorio pro illius ereptione gracias referamus.” Cumque piscem cuiscerassent et
293 cultellum extraxerunt, et eundem coquinarium qui tali pro miraculo beneficia ex Sulini redderet, summa cum
294 festinatione ad sanctum Maglorium transmiserunt.

295 15. [LB4] Sed antequam peruenisset ad monasterium sanctus Maglorius, et de eius aduentu et de eius
296 miraculo iam [facto]i¹⁶⁵ fratribus humiliter intimaui. Uix sermondem beatus Maglorius impeuerat, et ecce
297 seruus Sulini ostium pulsabat. *Postquam introgressus est et data copia fandi*¹⁶⁶ *inprouisus ait, “coram quem*
298 *queritis adsum*¹⁶⁷ missus ad domino meo Sulino ut, pro uita mihi conseruata, sancto Maglorio grates referam
299 et ex parte mei senioris multa beneficia promittam. Tunc sanctus Maglorius tantem uirtutis miraculum
300 sancto Sulino humiliter non sue deputans uirtuti, nullam remunerationem percepturam se respondit. Sed ne
301 dicat meus frater Sulinus suam petitionem apud me minime locum inuenisse, quandam uillam quam ille
302 habet in hac insula, in qua conuersantur, ad nostrum opus recipiemus, et nos habemus aliam uillam in uicinia
303 sui monasterii sitam. Ergo ad suum opus illam accipere debet, dignum enim est inter nos, larga beneficia
304 uersa uice mutuari. Sed talis commutatio modum habeat, ut si mea ossa quandoque hinc fuerint transportata,
305 mea possessio iterum, sine ullo obstaculo, ad seruitium meorum fratrem reuertatur. Quae commutatio, ut a
306 sancto Maglorio pactum est, inter utriusque successores adhuc inuio labilis permansit. Sed haec interim
307 omitto, quid a alia miracula eiusdem uiri, promulganda festino.

308 16. [LB5] DE INRUPTIONE PAGANORUM IN SARGIAM ET DE INCOLIS PER SANCTUM
309 MAGLORIUM LIBERATIS Quodam itaque tempore excrescente rabie paganorum, incredibilis multitudo
310 Normannorum deuastatis multis regionibus, ab *aquiloni plaga*¹⁶⁸ proficiscens longa leuigatione ad Sargiam
311 usaque delata est. Quorum aduentu tam inopinato incolae *perterriti*, ut pestem euadere possent contulerunt se
312 ad quendam angiportum super crepidinem maris inter scopulos situm, ubi sanctus frequenter *furtiuas*
313 *exercebat orationes*.¹⁶⁹ Cumque sanctus uir intrepidus *causam fugae*¹⁷⁰ didicisset, suadebat illis fortiter se

¹⁶⁴ Virgil, *Aeneid* 4.129 (=11.1); Kerlouégan, ‘Citations d’auteurs latins chrétiens’, p. 185.

¹⁶⁵ Emended from ‘factor’ for sense.

¹⁶⁶ Virgil, *Aeneid*, 1.520=11.248; Kerlouégan, ‘Citations d’auteurs latins chrétiens’, p. 185.

¹⁶⁷ Virgil, *Aeneid* 1.595; Kerlouégan, ‘Citations d’auteurs latins chrétiens’, p. 185.

¹⁶⁸ Wrdisten, *Vita Winwaloei*, ch. 21 and ch. 25. The phrase also occurs in many Irish saints’ *Lives* and in Bede.

¹⁶⁹ Gregory the Great, *Homiliae in euangelia*, Library of Latin Texts A, Bk II, *Homily* 34, par.18, p. 317, line 490.

¹⁷⁰ Cicero, *Pro A. Caecina oratio*, Library of Latin Texts A par. 44, p. 71b, line 7.

314 defendere et pro *amore patriae*¹⁷¹ si ita res exigeret, *dulces animas*¹⁷² ut milites in morte disponere. At illi
 315 leto animo, se facturos pollicebantur, si armorum auxilio non essent destituti. Nam primo aduentu hostium
 316 tam inopinato obliti arma sumere, inermes ad uirum dei confugerant.

317 17. [LB6] Tunc sanctus Maglorius, oculis ac manibus in coelum semper intentus, caute mirae magnitudinis
 318 aspiciens, cuspage baculi percussit, et soluta rupe in partes innumeras. Manuales lapillos ad usum totius
 319 multitudinis d[omino] cooperante porrexit. Susceptis itaque lapidibus, incolae mox barbaris irruentibus se
 320 obuam contulerunt, et emisso imbre lapideo orante, sancto Maglorio flexo poplite, uix ad naues xii.
 321 Confugientibus, ceteram multitudinem Orco remiserunt, incomprehensibilis uirtus diuinitatis. Gens dura et
 322 primis auspiciis bellicosa, Saxea gerens uiscera, nescia credere diuinitati, coacta est nolens cedere lapidi, et
 323 quae lapideum semper adamuit cultum, lapidibus obruta peruenit ad tormentum. Escam putauit mors fuit.
 324 Dum plus petit, plus perdidit. Querendo perdam, perda fit, glutiuit ipsum quo perdit.

325 DE SERPENTE ILLECTO ET EXTINCTO¹⁷³ Utrius testamenti doctores diuinis paginis instructi parti,
 326 uerbo exemplo satis affirmant diuinae potestatis insignia, quae deus omnipotens cum fit inuisibilis, et
 327 inlocalis, uisibiliter et localiter, ad *posteritatis utilitatem*¹⁷⁴ operatur in suis sanctis, silentio non esse praeter
 328 mittenda. Igitur, sancto Maglorio patrocinate, retinacula linguae uerbi morosae confidens posse dissolui,
 329 nam et *uires quas imperitia denegat caritas administrat*,¹⁷⁵ *siluam patentem*¹⁷⁶ ingrediens paucos ramusculos
 330 illius uirtutum attingere conabor.

331 18. [LB7] Quodam itaque tempore dum praefati uiri Maglorii uirtutibus Sargia celebris haberetur, Angia
 332 insula eidem Sargiae uicina, a quodam serpente siluestria loca et cauernosa incolente latenter deuastari cepit.
 333 Cumque iam serpentina feritas insula maxima ex parte deuorasset, et nec minis leuibus, nec carnis
 334 minacibus, nec aliquo ingenio posset expelli, incolae triennio cum uxoribus, et paruulis et omni suspectile,
 335 fugam arripientes, praefata insulam uicam dimiserunt. Tandem inuito consilio, cum suo principe qui insulam
 336 iure paterno regebat, sancti Maglorii suffragia lacrimabiliter petierunt. Cumque suam querimoniam
 337 beatissimo uiro Maglorio lugubri uoca referrent, humiliter respondisse fertur, “Fratres, ille cui cuncta
 338 famulanter elementa, et cuius uoluntati nullus potest resistere, propicietur uestris is infortuniis, et liberet uos
 339 a faucibus immanissimi serpentis. Sed de me filioli, qui sum peccator et luteus, fragili carne circumdatus,
 340 nolite talia postulare, quem nostris proprii corporis potestatem non habere.” Ac illi uocibus instabant
 341 assiduis, ut condolens illorum clamitati, serpentem e cauernis more solito eiceret, et concessa sibi de
 342 pestifero angue uictoria, eadem terram suae potestati in perpetuum subrugaret.

¹⁷¹ Echoes Virgil, *Aenid.*, 6.823 and 11.892; Kerlouégan, ‘Citations d’auteurs latins chrétiens’, p. 185.

¹⁷² Echoes Virgil, *Georgics*, 3.495; Kerlouégan, ‘Citations d’auteurs latins chrétiens’, p. 185.

¹⁷³ This strongly echoes several incidents in the *Vita Secunda Samsonis*, especially the detail of the saint placing his staff on the serpent’s neck: Bk I, ch. 10, pp. 98-101; Bk I, ch. 17, pp. 109-111; Bk II, ch. 8, pp. 128-30.

¹⁷⁴ John Scottus Eriugena, *De diuisione naturae (Periphyseon)*, Archive of Celtic Latin Literature, Bk. I, p. 198.

¹⁷⁵ Gregory the Great, *Homiliae in euangelia*, Bk II, *Homily* 21, par. 1, p. 174, line 6.

¹⁷⁶ Seneca the rhetorician, *Controuersiae*, Library of Latin Texts A, Bk II, *contr.* 1, par. 13, p. 71, line 11; Mico, *Carmina Centulensia*, eMGH Poetae 3, n. 28, p. 309, vs. 21.

343 19. [LB8] Sanctus itaque Maglorius nulla cupiditate ductas, sed eorum lacrimis commotus, xii monachos
 344 secum ducens uisurus locum, simul cum illis perrexit ad litus. Deinde peracto ieiunio triduo, strenuos uiros
 345 et peritos itineris eligens, cum ternis nauibus ad petram cauernosam frutice coopertam, ubi pestifer anguis
 346 uersabatur, diuino non humano fretus auxilio confidenter accessit. Nec mora serpens, ut erat naturae
 347 callidissime, cognito illorum aduentu, quas hiulco ore more solito capturus intrepidus obuiare non timuit.
 348 Sanctus uero Malgorius uidens serpentem totius luminibus, terribili uultu, fulmineis dentibus, lingua minaci
 349 primitus signo sancte crucis illius impetum repulsit. Deinde cusbide [sic] baculi, quem forte manu gestabat,
 350 per medium guttur domino cooperante insanabile uulnus inflexit. Cumque suadentibus incolis, a sancto
 351 Malgorio ad supercilium montis ut ouinum pecus duceretur, talibus uerbis orabat dicentis, “Deus
 352 omnipotens qui condolens homini fraude serpentina decepto, *colla squamea serpentis calcare praecepisti*
 353 *pedibus femineis, cuius praeceptis obtemperat, apis somnifera, [haemorrois]¹⁷⁷ sanguiflua, [chersidros*
 354 *aquatiqua, ophites arenosa]¹⁷⁸, dipsas torrida, biceps amphisbaena¹⁷⁹ et natrix aquae uiolatur et iaculi*
 355 *uolucres, et propter auidus et seps tabiscus¹⁸⁰, uacuaque regnans in aula basiliscus,¹⁸¹ et omnia genera*
 356 draconum hunc serpentem liuidum humani generis inimicum, tua uirtute ineffabili prosterne ut ablata sibi
 357 uulnifica potestate nullatenus eiliceat tuis fidelibus inantea nocere.

358 Ad hanc uocem cunctis respondentibus “amen”. Omnem uenenum in uiridi gramine serpens euomiuit, per
 359 deuexa et paetrosa montis latera se precipitans, dissolutis menbris minutatim coram cunctis asstantibus, per
 360 uirtutem sancti Malgorii suffragante domino nostro Iesu Christo, uitam funditus exhalauit. Quo uiso, incolae
 361 una cum suo principe uoluti obnixis precibus, precabantur ut totam insulam a serpente liberatam sibi in
 362 perpetuum titularet. Quo audito, sanctus Maglorius tristis effectus multum ingemuit, humili uoce constans,
 363 tale miraculum non suae uirtuti, sed illorum deuotioni a domino Iesu Christo fuisse concessam, tandem ad
 364 ultimum seu lacrimis indigenarum, seu lacrimis indigenarum, seu precibus monachorum uictus insulam per
 365 septenas partes diuidi precepit, et tactus diuino respectu dimissis senis partibus incolis heredibus, septimam
 366 partem sibi et suis monachis in perpetuum uendicauit, opitulante domino nostro Iesu Christo, cuius honor et
 367 imperium permanet in sempiterna saecula saeculorum, Amen.

368 20. [LB19] DE DUOBUS DIACONIBUS ILLUM AB ECCLESIAM PORTANTIBUS Mirabilem quoque
 369 diuinae uirtutis operationem, quam spiritu sancto reuelante didici, arbitror non esse silendam. Beatissimus
 370 itaque Maglorius longis orationibus et ieuiniis fatigatus, cum ad decrepitam peruenisset aetatem, nutante
 371 gressu ecclesiam more solito adire non poterat. Cumque propter hoc ualde animo esset consternatus uisum
 372 est fratribus duos leuitici ordinis praestanti corpore fratres, ex omni congregatione eligere quorum solatio et
 373 iuuamine illius inbecillitas sustentate oratorium hora competenti, facili gressu intitubanter posset adire. At illi

¹⁷⁷ Ms: ‘e morrois’. An almost identical misspelling, ‘et morrois’ is found in a list of snakes in Polemius Siluius, *Laterculus* a. CCCCXLIX, eMGH, Auct. ant. 9, *Nomina spirancium atque quadrupedum*, p. 543.

¹⁷⁸ The nouns and epithets here do not seem to agree. It is possible that the author treated ophities and chersidrus (masculine) as neuter.

¹⁷⁹ ms: *amphisibena*.

¹⁸⁰ Lucan, *Bellum civile (Pharsalia)*, Library of Latin Texts A, Bk. IX, vs. 715, p. 251; François Kerlouégan, *Etudes Celtiques* 1985, ‘Une liste de reptiles dans la Vie de saint Magloire’, pp. 287-94.

¹⁸¹ Substantive and epithet separated.

374 suscepto onere sibi iniuncto, gratanter illum ad ecclesiam ducebant, et iterum congruo tempore et finita
 375 oratione gratantissime domum reducebant. Cumque tali ministerio sedulo fungeretur quodam die festo,
 376 quando illum in ecclesiam ducebant, unus illorum in medio itinere, amissis uiribus restitit, et illius menbra
 377 sanctissima leuare more solito nullo m[ore] potuit, quem sanctus Malgorius sagaci inuestigatione inquisiuit,
 378 quid sibi occidisset, et cur opem confuetam implere nequiret. At ille uerecundiam rubore demonstrans
 379 omutuit, et nullam inse uirtutem loquendo habere nihil indicauit. Tunc sanctus Maglorius diuinitus
 380 inspiratus, statim intellexit illum aliq[ui]d culpabile commisisset, pro quo merebatur et a tactu sancti uiri,
 381 remoueri et ab ingressu ecclesiae suspendi, quem sanctus Maglorius paterno affectu corripiens ammonuit
 382 suam culpam citius confiteri, ut diuinae pietatis elementiam posset citissime consequi. Dicebat enim [word
 383 scratched out] *magnam* et unicam esse *medicinam*, fateri, quod *nocet abscondi*.¹⁸²

384 21. [LB10] At ille talibus dictis confortatur, genibus sancti Maglorii prouolutus suam infirmitatem confessor
 385 est dicens, “Pater sancte, hesternam die recolo uidisse me quandam meretricem ad ianuam ecclesiae stantem
 386 pexis capillis, pedibus nudis candida cute, lota facie, ornato collo, pectore foliato, in cuius amore confiteor
 387 me uenerio instinctu uehementer arsisse.” Sanctus Maglorius ad hanc uocem respondit dicens, “Indulgeat tibi
 388 dominus frater dominus noster Iesus Christus *lubricae cupiditatis*¹⁸³ offensas, qui beato Petro apostolo trinae
 389 negationis culpam benignus indulsit et *latroni in cruce confitenti*¹⁸⁴, ueniam prestare non distulit.” Recepta
 390 autem beatissimi uiri Maglorii absolute, diaconus de terra citissime se eleuauit, et in illius obsequio ut
 391 antea consueuerat sine ullo impedimento sumptis uiribus ecclesiam intrauit. Eo tempore sanctus Maglorius
 392 prima temptamenta diaboli esse cognoscens, accessus mulierem, intra claustra monachorum consensu
 393 fratrem percepit femineum sexum an ingressu suae ecclesiae in perpetuum esse suspensum, per infinita
 394 saecula saeculorum amen.

Obitus [This was published by Van Hecke and follows the *Miracula* in his edition. However, it was almost certainly written by the Family 2 author. This study follows Paris BNF lat. 15436 and Paris BNF Arsenal by placing the *obitus* in its logical, chronological position after the ante-mortem and before the post-mortem *Miracula*.]

395 [V27] [DE ANGELO ILLIUS OBITUS EUM NUNCIANTE[?]]¹⁸⁵ Postquam Sanctus Maglorius innumeris
 396 signorum atque [uirtutum]¹⁸⁶ titulis *instar [Phœbææ]*¹⁸⁷ *lampadis*¹⁸⁸ non solum Sargiam, sed et ceteras
 397 provincias []¹⁸⁹ utramque maris crepidinem illuminasset, cœlesti quoque [illustratione illuminatus]¹⁹⁰, obitum
 398 suum imminere longe præscivit. Nam in vigilia paschalis sacrosanctæ festiuitatis, cum in ecclesia more solito

¹⁸² Coelius Sedulius, *Carmen Paschale*, Bk IV, vs. 76, p. 96.

¹⁸³ Same phrase later used in ‘Rhygyfarch’s *Life of St David*’, ed. and trans. Richard Sharpe and John Reuben Davies, in J. Wyn Evan and Jonathan Wooding, eds. *St David of Wales: Cult, Church and Nation* (Woodbridge, 2007), pp. 105-55, ch. 12, line 11, p. 118.

¹⁸⁴ *Liber de ordine creaturarum*, Archive of Celtic Latin Literature, Opera Theologica Hibernica aetatis Patristicae, B342, p. 126.

¹⁸⁵ M and BNF lat. 11951: omitted.

¹⁸⁶ M only: miraculorum

¹⁸⁷ BNF lat. 11951: Phebee.

¹⁸⁸ Echoes Virgil, *Aenid* 3.637; Kerlouégan, ‘Citations d’auteurs latins chrétiens’, p. 185.

¹⁸⁹ M and BNF lat. 11951: circa.

¹⁹⁰ M and BNF lat. 11951: reuelatione illustratus.

399 pernox excubaret, Angelus Domini nimia venustate coruscans ante faciem illius astitit, et dictis familiaribus
 400 illum admonuit dicens, “Sancte Maglori, *age quod agis, operare quod operaris*¹⁹¹, nomenque tuum in albo
 401 militiae caelestis scriptum esse noveris. Placuit enim Altissimo, cujus praecipis ab ineunte aetate fideliter
 402 obtemperasti, dignam mercedem tui certaminis in caelesti curia tibi restituere.” Quo audito, Sanctus
 403 Maglorius laetus de promissione, incertus de visione, ne angelus satanae in angelum lucis se
 404 [transmigraret]¹⁹², orationem diutissime protelavit. Completa autem oratione, Angelus Domini Sanctum
 405 Maglorium de visione certum reddere cupiens, bis et ter eundem sermonem repetebat, dicens, “Sancte
 406 Maglori, de hac visione angelica noli esse dubius, quia sicut ego sum assiduus minister summæ veritatis, ita
 407 nostra legatio expers est totius falsitatis. Verissime ergo et sine ullo phantasmate *missus ab astris*¹⁹³ vera tibi
 408 refero, quod in proximo, finito agone carnali, cum *victoria et triumpho de hoste*¹⁹⁴ generis humani in sidereo
 409 senatu receptus, [divinam]¹⁹⁵ gloriam inter caelestes turmas sine fine possidebis.” Tunc Sanctus Maglorius
 410 omni dubietate exutus, angelico affamine solidatus, respondit, dicens, “Si a Domino meo Jesu Christo, ut
 411 asseris, missus es, rogo te, ut uberrimis tuis benedictionibus in illius nomine, antequam recedas, mihi
 412 benedicas.” Angelus Domini humiliter econtra respondit, “quomodo tibi benedicere possum, qui benedictus
 413 es, et benedictus eris, a quo omnia sunt benedicta [et sanctificata].”¹⁹⁶ Tunc mutuo se invicem salutantes
 414 atque benedicentes, Angelus cum magna claritate celsa petiit. Sanctus vero Maglorius noctem pervigilem, ut
 415 cœperat, duxit.

416 [V28]¹⁹⁷ Evolutis autem paucis diebus idem Angelus nimio splendore coruscus, Sancto Maglorio apparuit
 417 dicens, “Sancte Maglori, omni dubietate postposita de tuo obitu esto securus, quia terdenis ornamentis
 418 quosdam *sexta coronant*,¹⁹⁸ quidam vero sexagenarii numeri honore duplicato præmia secundæ castitatis
 419 obtinent. Te autem corona *centeno cumulata fructu*¹⁹⁹ ob corporis integritatem [conservatam]²⁰⁰ *virginitatem*
 420 inter choros *virgineos*²⁰¹ [coronabit].”²⁰² His dictis, viaticum de manu Angeli in proximo moriturus,
 421 visibiliter accepit. Ab illo ergo die de obitu suo valde sollicitus, nisi causa inevitabilis et multis profutura
 422 extitisset, usque ad diem vocationis suæ hunc versiculum in ore semper repetens, “*Unam petii a Domino*
 423 *hanc requiram, ut inhabitem in domo Domini omnibus []*²⁰³ *vitæ meæ*”²⁰⁴ nunquam ab ecclesia visus est
 424 recedere. Postea finito cursu labentis vitæ, quando illi placuit, cui ab initio famulatum præbuit, fratribus
 425 valedicens, inter verba sanctæ exhortationis animam exhalans, *felici transmigratione* nono kalendas

¹⁹¹ Gregory the Great, *Dialogues*, Bk IV, ch. 58, line 2; Gregory the Great, *Homiliae in euangelia*, Bk II, *Homily* 37, par. 9, p. 355, line 204; Gregory the Great, *Homiliae in euangelia*, Bk II, *Homily* 37, par. 9, p. 356, line 231.

¹⁹² M and BNF lat. 11951: transfiguraret.

¹⁹³ Echoes Coelius Sedulius, *Carmen Paschale* 5.326-7; Wright, ‘Knowledge of Christian Latin poets’, p. 169.

¹⁹⁴ Augustine of Hippo, *In Iohannis epistolam ad Parthos tractatus*, Library of Latin Texts A, tract. 4, col. PL, 2006, line 39.

¹⁹⁵ M and BNF lat. 11951: x divinæ majestatis indefecturam.

¹⁹⁶ M and BNF lat. 11951: omitted.

¹⁹⁷ M only: et pie moritur.

¹⁹⁸ numerous - pagan and otherwise.

¹⁹⁹ This echoes the parable of the sower: Mark, 4, 2-20; Matt., 13, 3-23 and Luke, 8, 4-15: Kerlouégan, ‘Une mode stylistique’, p. 287, cites *corona centeno cumulata fructu* as an example of a ‘British Latin’ substantive-epithet-substantive-epithet structure.

²⁰⁰ M and BNF lat. 11951: et servatam.

²⁰¹ Echoes: Jerome, *Epistulae*, Library of Latin Texts A, Ep. 107, vol. 55, par. 13, p. 304, line 5.

²⁰² M and BNF lat. 11951: sacer ornabit.

²⁰³ M and BNF lat. 11951: diebus.

²⁰⁴ M: Psalm. 26, vs. 4.

426 novembris *pervenit*²⁰⁵ ad Christum. Cujus intercessio gloriosa nobis obtineat veniam peccatorum, *cujus mors*
427 *pretiosa est ante Deum*²⁰⁶, qui vivit et regnat per infinita saecula saeculorum. Amen.

Post-mortem Miracula

428 22. [LB11] DE PAGANIS ILLIUS SEPULCHRUM UIOLANTIBUS Descriptis actenus uirtutibus
429 beatissimi Maglorii licet [uili cracterem], quibus dum adiuuaret, ut caeleste sidus in terris emicuit, nunc
430 restant pauca quae memoriae occurrunt, de illius post obitum miraculis praesente operi inserere. Postquam
431 igitur sanctus Maglorius fortis athleta uictoria potitus, finito certamine cum antiquo hoste, leto animo
432 transmigraret ad caelestem patriam Sargia insula *diues opem*²⁰⁷, hostili incursu paganorum uehementissime
433 deuastari coepit. Cumque totam insulam barbarico ritu deuastassent, quibusdam captis, quibusdam occisis
434 ingenti praeda collecta monasterium sancti Maglorii cum magno impetu Normanni petierunt. Se cum loca
435 diuersa monasterii amore pecuniae ducti sagaci inuestigatione perlustrassent, uentum est ad locum ubi
436 sacratissima sancti Maglorii ossa cum maximo honore erant tumulata. Quo uiso monachi sancti corporis
437 custodes, timore per territi, sarcophagum sancti Maglorii strictis manibus amplexantes uoce lugubri *lacrimis*
438 *obortis*²⁰⁸, sanctem Maglorium inuocare coeperunt, ut pristinae uirtutis *non in memor*²⁰⁹ gregem suum non
439 deserens, a faucibus inimici liberaret. Quo uiso barbari ignotum pondus auri et argenti, sarcophagum habere
440 credentes, electis septem uiris ceteris fortioribus, sarcophagam aperuerunt, sancta membra pallis inuoluta,
441 pollutis manibus tangere presumpturi. Sed uirtus diuina, palam adfuit, nam sancti corporis uiolatoribus
442 primitus orbatis, dein ceteris qui ut fertur erant non dcccc genti, *rabie accensi*²¹⁰, mutuis uulneribus per
443 uitutem Maglorii inuicem se conciderunt.

444 23. [LB12] DE FILIO CONTUMACI CUIUSDAM HOMINIS QUI PATRIS IMMOLATIONEM
445 MONASTERIO SUB TRAXIT Eodem fere tempore post obitum sancti Maglorii quidam homo satis
446 opulentus, Bissargia insulam Sargiae uicinam, hereditario iure tenebat, qui subito languore correptus sicuti
447 omni homini obnoxium est domino iubente *debitum mortis exsoluere*²¹¹ ad extremum ductus uitam exhalauit.
448 Sed cum esset adhuc in extremo certamine positus ualedicens fratribus et amicis suum corpusculum
449 monasterio sancti Maglorii humandi causa deferri praecepit. Quod ita et factum est. Nam illo mox exhalante
450 cadauer illius more solito, locum *feretro imponentes, triste ministerium*²¹² sancti Maglorii honorifice
451 detulerunt. Cumque diligenti cura a monachis fuisset susceptum, et sepulture traditum balteo aureo et
452 spenoribus auris et omni ornatu gladii pro illius absolute sicuti ille dum adiuueret, praeceperat sancto
453 Maglorii et suis monachis obtulerunt. Contigit autem diuina dispositione praefati uiri filium contumacem et
454 domino odibilem aegrotante patre longinquam regionem adire, et funereo patris obsequio obstante terrarum

²⁰⁵ Caesarius of Arles, *Sermones Caesarii uel ex aliis fontibus hausti*, sermon 227, ch. 5, line 4.

²⁰⁶ Augustine of Hippo, *Sermones*, Library of Latin Texts, sermon 318, ed. PL 38, col. 1439, line 28.

²⁰⁷ Echoes Virgil, *Ænid*, 1.14 and 2.22; Kerlouégan, 'Citations d'auteurs latins chrétiens', p. 185.

²⁰⁸ Echoes Virgil, *Ænid*, 3.492; 4.30; 6.867; 11.41; Kerlouégan, 'Citations d'auteurs latins chrétiens', p. 185.

²⁰⁹ Echoes Virgil, *Ænid*, 5.39; Kerlouégan, 'Citations d'auteurs latins chrétiens', p. 185.

²¹⁰ Coelius Sedulius, *Paschale carmen*, Bk I, vs. 197, p. 30.

²¹¹ Archive of Celtic Latin Literature, Opera Hagiographica Armorica Aetatis Patristicae, *Vita prima S. Samsonis* L&S D950, p. 121 and VSS, Bk I, ch. 9, p. 94, line 26-7.

²¹² Echoes Virgil, *Ænid* 6.222-3; Kerlouégan, 'Citations d'auteurs latins chrétiens', p. 185.

455 [intercapedine]²¹³, defuisse. Qui reuertens domum, et patris interitum agnoscens, locuturus cum monachis,
 456 uerbis pacificis in dolo monasterium sancti Maglorii adiit ornamenta patria ad redimendum sibi dari
 457 humiliter postulauit.

458 24. [LB13] Quo audito, monachi ne tanti uiri filius, uel ad modicum tristaretur omnia quae acceperant
 459 precium recepturi, sponte ad medium deduxerunt. At ille dona paterna recognoscens, auariciae facibus
 460 accensus uocatis suis satellitibus omnia per uim retrahens, praeda potitus, domum cum gaudio ut sibi
 461 uidebatur reuersurus, cum terribili impetu iter arripere cepit. Quo uiso monachi satis edocti diuinum adesse
 462 suffragium ubi deest humanum, ad corpus sancti Maglorii cucurrerunt et uocibus assiduis, precibus
 463 indefessis pulsatis signis sanctum Maglorium lacrimabiliter ut sacrilegium uindicaret, inuocare ceperunt.
 464 Sanctus uero Maglorius illorum *uota nihil moratus*²¹⁴, illi sacrilego nouo genere praedicandi, se iactitanti in
 465 itinere obuiauit, et cuspide baculi librato ictu uisibiliter per mediam frontem percussit. At ille recognoscens
 466 suum reatum, quicquid adpraesens habebat, cum paternis donis quae inlegaliter retraxerat sancto Maglorio
 467 transmisit et illius precibus et pietati se commendans, ueniam petens, lacrimas ubertim fundens, turpissima
 468 morte uitam exhalauit. Sed utrum diuina largitate cuius pietatis et misericordiae non est numerus et
 469 intercessione sancti Maglorii ueniam assequi potuit, an exigente mole peccaminum secreto dei iudicio,
 470 inremediabiliter periit, non humano es diuino pensandum est iudicio. Nos autem homines mole peccaminum
 471 obruti diuinae rationi signari, scientes multa esse quae nesciri quam sciri plus expedit, quicquid nos latet,
 472 illius subtilissimo examini reseruamus, cuius uox est quicquid residuum fuerit igni co[m]buretis cur [o?]
 473 maiestas fulget in excelsis per infinita saecula saeculorum [AMEN]²¹⁵

²¹³ Emended from *inter capedine*.

²¹⁴ Coelius Sedulius, *Carmen Pascale*, 3.61, Wright, 'Knowledge of Christian Latin poets', p. 169.

²¹⁵ Written in Greek characters in ms.

Translatio Maglorii

1 **1. QUALITER CORPUS EIUS A SARGIA INSULA AD BRITANNIAM TRANSLATUM EST**
 2 **DESCRIPTIS UT CUMQUE SANCTI** Maglorii quibusdam miraculis et uirtutibus, quibus apud
 3 Sargiam conuersatus, non solum in uita sed etiam post obitum, *nomen eius celebre* multis regionibus
 4 *enituit*,¹ qualiter sacrosanctum corpus illius ad Britanniam domino ducente ductum est ueredicis
 5 litterarum characteribus intimare. Eo tempore rex famosissimus nomine Nomenoe imperii dignitate
 6 simul et nobilitate pollens, postquam multas prouincias non contentus auitis sedibus suo imperio
 7 subiugasset, Britanniam regia sublimitate suffultus in pace gubernabat. Quadam uero die praefatus rex
 8 cum innumeris militibus et canibus sine numero repperit vi monachos, uixta ripam fluminis ad
 9 radicem cuiusdam montis latitantes et labore manuum inter uepres, et frutices uictum inquirentes, qui
 10 diuino timore compunctus uidens eos pallore et matie infectos, sagaci inuestigatione et qualem uitam
 11 ducebant, et cur loca siluestria et inculta tenebant, inquisiuit.

12 **2.** At illi, seu milibus cateruatim latera illius stipantibus seu regalibus ornamentis edocti, regem esse
 13 cognoscentes. Primitus illum precibus obsecratiuis humiliter amplexantes illius genua salutauerunt,
 14 deinde secundam hoc quod fuerant inquisiti, congruum responsum regi dedere dicentes, “Rex optime
 15 defensor patriae credulas aures nostris uocibus adhibere debes ut in ueritate cognoscas, esse nostrum
 16 propositum uitam monachicam in diuino seruitio sine tenus ducere, et pro rege et suis fidelibus
 17 incessanter dominum exorare, sed ut facilius haec adimplere possimus, largiente regali sublimitate
 18 terram arabilem et uestitam dari nobis suppliciter exoramus.” Tunc rex illorum petitioni libenter
 19 annuens, qualia sanctorum pignora secum haberent inquiri, ut recepta ab illo terra illorum precibus
 20 iuuandum in ocio et negotio se commendaret, sed dum cognouisset illis dicentibus reliquias
 21 sanctorum nullas penes se retinere data illis pecunia, terra uero negata recessit. “Si dominus
 22 omnipotens uestram respiciens humilitatem atque laborem, aliquim uobis ex numero sanctorum
 23 habendum, quandoque concesserit cuius patrocinio ualeat locus iste fulciri et ego possim in rebus
 24 arduis adiuuari, meam presentiam cum omni fiducia adire non dubitatis. Tunc enim et locum illius
 25 nomini dedicatum honorabo, et larga terrarum predia iuxta meum posse ad illius honorem daturum me
 26 permitto.”

27 **3.** Quo recedente, monachi tristes effecti, illum diem lugubrem cum ingenti merore, lacrimando
 28 duxerunt. Tandem inuito consilio, et facto ieiunio triduo unum ex illis peritum uiae plenum scientiae
 29 ad Sargiam direxerunt. At ille more solito suscepta benedictione, pergens ad litus ilico nauem interauit
 30 prospera nauigatione ad Sargiam quasi causa orandi peruenit. Cumque biduo ac triduo locum
 31 diligentissime explorasset, custodibus sacri corporis primitus adhesit, et magnum se habere secretum
 32 ex parte regis referendum illis suauiter innotuit. Cumque locum tutum ad narrandum illis ducetibus
 33 uidisset dixit, primitus dictis familiaribus, “uos ex parte regis saluto, et maximum honorem cum

¹ Gregory the Great, *Dialogues*, Bk III, prol. line 5.

34 ingenti pecunia peracta mea legatione ex parte illius uobis et uestrae posteritati, promitto, olli tamen
 35 secretum sicuti ille praecepit nisi promiseritis cum magno sacramento saluum esse denudare nulla
 36 tenus audeo.” Quo audito custodes, regali promissione gauisi, immo ut credimus, diuinitus edocti,
 37 iusiurandum sine mora fecerunt. At ille suscepto sacramento letus effectus modum suae legationis
 38 diasyrpticam ad gressus locutionem exposuit dicens,

39 4. “Rex noster actenus ut bene nostis, uir fuit bellicosus, terribilis hostibus, uiribus praesumptuosus,
 40 sitiens sanguinis, domino odibilis, non contentus solio paterno longinquas terras adiit, incendit,
 41 ciuitates a se captas, quasdam federatas, quasdam uero fecit tributarias, loca sanctorum igni combussit,
 42 innumeras predas et rapinas frequenter exercuit. Sed moderno tempore diuino respectu illuminatis,
 43 postquam nulla gens illius potestati audet contradicere, disposuit pacifice uiuere, transacta uicia
 44 corrigere, de proprio uiuere, rapinas execrari, uitam emendare, et ut breuiter multa breuiter
 45 concludam, omnia praua indirecta deducere. Inter haec in suo regno unum ex multis elegit locum
 46 fluuiali amoenitate irriguum, maritima infusione piscosum, montium altitudine tutum, uineis et pratis
 47 uberrimum arboribus pomiferis piniferis, glandiferis, nemorosum ortis insuper herbiferis odoriferis
 48 salutiferis amoenum, quem regalibus donis et sanctorum reliquis, et monachis electissimis pro
 49 redemptione animae suae decreuit quantum poterit honorare. Quamobrem sancti Maglorii rex amore
 50 ductus praecepit uobis illius corpus integrum sibi transmitti, et talem locum in honore sancti
 51 Maglorii sub nostra potestate in perpetuum sine illa retractione recipite.” Quo audito sacri corporis
 52 custodes, seu loci amenitate delectati, seu regia promissione freti, seu diuinitus uolente sancto
 53 Maglorio instructi, omnia quae rex praeceperat cum magnis sacramentis se esse facturos promiserunt.

54 5. His ita gestis praefatus nuncius incredibili gaudio repletus, pacto die et tempore quo iterum rediret,
 55 adhibitis paucis uiris secum strenuis nauigandi peritissimis, quorum iuuamine sacrum corpus citissime
 56 ueheretur, *prospera nauigatione*² ad pristinum locum unde fuerat digressus repedauit. *Euolutis*
 57 *autem multis diebus*,³ quidam monachus nomine Condanus nobili prosapia exortus, litteralibus studiis
 58 satis imbutus, mirae abstinentiae deditus, mira uerborum eloquentia lepidissimus, tempore statuto a
 59 custodibus receptam de sancto Maglorio sententiam peracturus, paruo monachorum comitate,
 60 contentus ad Sargiam domino ducente profectus est. Cumque prospero cursu delatu e nauibus, egressi
 61 meridiano tempore, ecclesiae limina transirent, diaconus more solito stans in ambone euuanglerium
 62 forte legebat, locus autem scripturae hic erat quem legebat, “*Adtendite a falsis prophetis*”⁴ et reliqua.
 63 Qua uoce, Condanus oppido perterritus ut suum consilium esse denudatum et se in proximo multa
 64 una cum suo comitatu passurum, lugubri uoce denunciauit. Finita autem lectione euuangelica, ante

² Sulpicius Severus, *Dialogorum libri II*, Library of Latin Texts A, dialogue 1, ch. 1, par. 3, p. 152, line 18. A brief search in Brepols cross-database search tool shows that this phrase appears in a number of Irish and Breton saints’ *Lives*, including those of Bridget, Patrick, Machutus and Briocus.

³ Genesis, 38, 10.

⁴ Matt. 7, 15.

65 altare diu prostrati, insingultus ac lacrimas, erumpentes orationem diutissime suderunt. Cumque, ab
 66 oratione surrexissent, ille qui praeesse ceteris uidebatur adfuit, et usitato more hospitalitatis cum
 67 fratribus largiter epulatueros illos ad mensam duxit.

68 6. Deinde transactis vi diebus imminente vii proficisci uoluerunt, cumque essent inquisiti quo
 69 tenderent, uel cur uenissent trans marinas regiones, dixerunt se adire uoluisse et proteruo impetu
 70 uentorum nolentes fuisse iactatos ad illam insulam, quamobrem a fratribus supplici deuotione
 71 deposcunt illam noctem in ecclesia peruigilem ducere ut orto sole precibus sancti Maglorii suffulti
 72 undosi maris fluctuagos impetus possent transire illesi. Quod dum fuisset a fratribus impetratum
 73 primam partem noctis una cum custodibus insomnem duxerunt. Cumque totius insulae habitatores
 74 *uino somnoque*⁵ sepultos sagaci inuestigatione deprehenderent, remoto coopertorio, a praefato solo
 75 Condano quod uix poterat a sex uiris fortissimis subleuari, sancti Maglorii corpus *furtum fidele*⁶
 76 rapientes, ilico nauem conscenderunt. Quo facto hora competenti monachi diuinum opus celebraturi,
 77 ecclesiam intrantes sarcophagum aspicientes, ianuas ecclesiae bipatentes nullo custode aspicientes,
 78 claustra monasterii *inmenso clamore*⁷ et incredibili repleuerunt. Quo audito totius insulae habitatores
 79 conueniunt, cur tanto merore monachi essent consternati, diligenter inquirunt. Sed dum res fuisset
 80 agnita inuito consilio, elegerunt ex omni multitudine uiros strenuos nauigandi peritos, qui celerrimo
 81 impetu *mare ueliuolum*⁸ transeuntes, ipsos ut dicebant sacrilegos interficerent sacrum corpus ad
 82 locum pristinum cum honore reducerent.

83 7. Tunc *maris undisonisu*⁹ proficies certatim innumeris caris[carinis] finditur, *clamor nauticus*
 84 *exoritur*¹⁰, collisio remorum fragorem imitatur amore uincendi uirtus certandi cunctis amministratur.
 85 Cumque iam in eo esset ut nauis quae sancta menbra portabat ab aliis nauibus apprehenderetur,
 86 monachi quasi in articulo mortis constituti sanctum Maglorii lacrimas fundentes lugubri uoce
 87 rogauerunt dicentes, “Sancte Maglorii, ut quid nos decepisti? Cur uitam nostram insidiantibus inimicis
 88 prouidisti? Si tibi uelle non erat nobiscum ueniendi cur sarcophagum apperire permisisti? Si corpora
 89 nostra hostico furori tradidisti saltem animab[] solatium, tuae sanctissime intercessionis subtraere
 90 noli.” Hanc uocem monachorum lugubrem mirabile dictu uirtus diuina ilico est consecuta, *nam subito*
 91 *caeruleus imber noctem hiememque furens affuit, et inhorruit unda tenebris. Continuo inuicem uenti*
 92 *repugnantes uoluunt mare tumidaque surgunt aequora, dispersae naues iactante/ur in alto gurgite*
 93 *abscondere diem nimbi, et nox humida coelum abstuli, ingeminant abruptis nubibus ignes excuciantur*

⁵ Echoes Virgil, *Aenid*, 2.265; 9.189=236; 9.316; Kerlouégan, ‘Citations d’auteurs latins profanes’, p. 186.

⁶ Coelius Sedulius, *Carmen Paschale*, 3.127, Wright, ‘Knowledge of Christian Latin poets’, p. 169.

⁷ Echoes Virgil, *Aenid*, 3.672; 11.832; Kerlouégan, ‘Citations d’auteurs latins profanes’, p. 186.

⁸ Echoes Virgil, *Aenid*, 1.224; Kerlouégan, ‘Citations d’auteurs latins profanes’, p. 185.

⁹ Juvenius, *Evangelia*, 3.390; Wright, ‘Knowledge of Christian Latin poets’, p. 172.

¹⁰ Echoes Virgil, *Aenid*, 3.128; Kerlouégan, ‘Citations d’auteurs latins profanes’, p. 185; Lucan, *Bellum ciuile (Pharsalia)* Bk II, vs: 687, p. 49.

94 nautae *cursu*, *caecis* tamen seruantur *in undis*. *Tolluntur in coelum* turbatis fluctibus *ad manes*¹¹ imo
 95 iterum descensuri. Tandem maritima uexatione defessi, mortem euasisse gaudentes, ad eandem
 96 insulam unde uenerant diggressi in *uentorum impellente*¹², diuinae uoluntati resistere non ualentes
 97 delati sunt. Sancti uero corporis custodes et procuratores optabilem portum in Britannia *famulant*
 98 [*Deo*¹³] *salu*¹⁴, prospero cursu nauigantes, sine ulla difficultate eodem die tenuerunt.

99 8. Cumque leto animo madefacta carbasa, aduerso soli insigentes, ad quandam uillam declinassent, ad
 100 recreanda corpora nauigio defessa, iusserunt sibi preparare conuiuium, sed interim dum cibaria
 101 preparantur, non habentes procuratum locum, ubi corporis sacri menbra collocarent, ortum cuiusdam
 102 hominis pomiferis arboris insitum intrauerunt. Cumque diligenter intuerentur aspiciunt ibi quandam
 103 arborem acerrimi et amarissimi saporis poma ferentem, cuius ramusculi una propagine primitus
 104 exurgentes, facto spacio diuersas tenere partes, nam facta diuisione una pars arboris uersus orientem
 105 altera uero occidentem uersus tetenderat. *Cumque hora prandii adfuisset*¹⁵ in una parte arboris largiter
 106 epulaturi sacri corporis menbra collocauerunt. Finito autem conuiuio illis inter se vario sermone
 107 confabulantibus poma ante ante tempus maturata, de illa parte arboris, quae sancti Maglorii menbra
 108 sustentabat, super mensam ceciderunt. Quae dum fuissent collecta ille qui preerat arbori in cuius
 109 ortulo, sciens naturam arboris acerrimam esse, a gustu pomorum omnis prohibere cepit. Cumque in
 110 sterquilinum quasi uilia proicerentur, unus monachorum asperitatem illorum cupiens temptare,
 111 accepto pomo ligurrire cepit. Sed dum gustasset incredibilem pomi suauitatem intelligens ceteris
 112 indicauit, et de illis pomis suauissimi saporis manducandum esse suauitatem. Qui cum sentiendo
 113 gustassent, contestantur talia poma tam bona tam saporis se repperisse, qualia numquam meminerant
 114 se uidisse.

115 9. Quo uisi, rusticus cuius erat ortus ne in suspicionem monachis ueniret, quasi sua poma uescentibus
 116 dare nollet, terratenus prouolutus, pedes sancti Condani humiliter amplexatus est dicens, “Beatissime
 117 pater Condane, vestrae pietatis exoro clementiam ut mihi uera loquenti, fidem adhibeas, et hanc
 118 arborem poma deterrimi saporis actenus protulisse, et in uestri aduentu per uirtutem sancti Maglorii
 119 *siluestrem animum*¹⁶ deposuisse cognoscas.” Quo audito Condanus, ingenti leticia repletus, totam
 120 arborem circum lustrans uidit illam parte arboris quae sancti Maglorii menbra sustentabat matura
 121 poma ex se emittere altera parte poma acerba et siluestria, tenacissime retinente. Ergo ad
 122 confirmandum tantem uirtutis testimonium, seu ad posteritatis utilitatem omnes qui aderant ex

¹¹ Virgil, *Aenid* 3. 194-200; Kerlouégan, ‘Citations d’auteurs latins profanes’, p. 186.

¹² Wrdisten, *Vita Uinualoei*, p. 187.

¹³ Word added, presumably for sense, by La Borderie, p. 242.

¹⁴ Arator, *De actibus Apostolorum* 1.996, Wright, ‘Knowledge of Christian Latin poets’, p. 174.

¹⁵ Archive of Celtic Latin Literature, Opera Hagiographica Hibernicae Aetatis Mediaevalis, *Vita et nauigatio S. Brendani e collectione Oxoniensi*, L&S B441, p. 126, line 13. Only a slight verbal parallel, but in the *Nauigatio*, it too follows a voyage and occurs just before Brendan’s monks start eating fruit from a strange tree - apparently apples.

¹⁶ Virgil, *Georgics*, Bk II, vs. 49, p. 100.

123 diuersis pomis eiusdem arboris, poma dulcia simul et acerba manducare coegit. Ex illo igitur tempore
 124 illa arbor quantum natura promittente durare potuit, ex una parte mitia poma et suauiua, altera uero
 125 siluestria et acerrima, per uirtutem sancti Maglorii mirabile indubitantissime protulit. De quibus pomis
 126 *in dulcedinae conuersis*¹⁷, multi debiles et infirmi, longa infirmitate uexati domino cooperante et
 127 sancto Maglorio patrocinate ad pristinam reducti sunt sanitatem. His ita gestis monachi ad locum
 128 unde fuerant digressi desiderabilem thesaurum secum adferentes domino ducente et sancto Maglorio
 129 suffragante reuertuntur in pace. *Unde quis dubitet*¹⁸, sancto Maglorio indefessam semper exhibere
 130 seruitutem. Quae uox tam ferrea aquae lingua tam lepida, poterit uerbis explicare, quantam curam in
 131 curriculo huius uitae labentis, uel quanta praemia in curiae coelestis senatu, suis sequacibus
 132 incessanter sibi adherentibus sancti Maglorius praestaturus est, qui arbori insensatae et irrationali,
 133 nihil a se postulanti, licet sua membra sustentanti uirtutis suae beneficia tam largiter ad insinuandum
 134 suae caritatis exemplum impertiri dignatus est. Nam ut epilogum succinctum faciens breuissime multa
 135 concludam. Primitus illam arborem *reatu primae preuaricationis*¹⁹ potenter absoluit, deinde ablata
 136 sterilitate necnon et acerbitate uisibiliter inaudita et *dulcedine donauit*²⁰. Ad ultimum uero ut esset
 137 cunctis exemplum pomis illius in dulcedinem conuersis multos infirmos pristinae sanitati reduxit,
 138 unde ergo lutei et peccatores, ingenti mole peccaminum obruti, sancte Maglorii uoce lugubri tuae
 139 pietatis *deposcimus suffragia*²¹, ut nobis in fructuosarum arborem pene morientibus *manum*
 140 *misericordiae porrigas*²², ictum securis iamiamque ferientis exorato iudice clem[en]t[er] ammonetas,
 141 ut ablata pristinae uitae acerbitate, sicuti arbori fecisti insensatae nouae conuersationis *dulcedine*
 142 *commutasti*.²³ Preteritorum criminum necnon et praesentium laqueos salubriter possimus euadere, et
 143 *finito agone*²⁴ huius saeculi peccatis imminentibus obseruati, tibi in regione uiuentium sine ullo
 144 impedimento possimus adherere. Praestante domino nostro Iesu Christo cuius laus et honor. Amen.
 145 laus et imperium sine fine permanet in saecula saeculorum, [AMEN].²⁵

¹⁷ Caesarius of Arles, *Sermones Caesarii uel ex aliis fontibus hausti*, sermon 102, ch. 2, line 14, about water that becomes sweet after baptism.

¹⁸ Sulpicius Severus, *Vita Martini*, 4, 6 and 23, 11.

¹⁹ Alcuin, *Epistolae*, eMGH, Epp. 4, Ep. 309, p. 474, line 32; Bede, *In Cantica canticorum libri vi*, Library of Latin Texts A, prol., line 201; Bede, *In epistulas septem catholicas*, Library of Latin Texts A, Bk I, ch. 3, line 260; Bede, *In epistulas septem catholicas* Bk IV (in 1 Io.), ch. 5, line 306; Bede, *In Ezram et Neemiam libri iii*, Library of Latin Texts A, Bk I, line 858; Bede, *In principium Genesis usque ad natiuitatem Isaac*, Library of Latin Texts A, Bk I, ch. 3, line 2155; Bede, *In principium Genesis usque ad natiuitatem Isaac*, Bk IV, ch. 17, line 412.

²⁰ Bede, *Homeliarum euangelii libri ii*, Library of Latin Texts A, Bk I, Homily 9, line 62; Alcuin, *Commentaria in sancti Iohannis Euangelium*, Library of Latin Texts A, Ep. ad Gislam et Rodtrudam, col. 1004, line 12.

²¹ Alcuin, *Epistolae*, eMGH, Epp. 4, Ep. 234, p. 380, line 14.

²² Caesarius of Arles, *Sermones Caesarii uel ex aliis fontibus hausti*, sermon 225, ch. 4, line 12.

²³ Caesarius of Arles, *Sermones Caesarii uel ex aliis fontibus hausti*, sermon 102, ch. 2, line 14; sermon 126, ch. 1, line 1; sermon 126, ch. 2, line 23; sermon 126, ch. 5, line 1.

²⁴ Bede, *Homeliarum euangelii libri ii*, Bk II, Homily 13, line 63 'finito agone huius uitae'.

²⁵ Written in Greek characters in ms.

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